INDO-PAK WAR



THE INDO-PAKISTAN WAR

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SAGA OF SUPREME SACRIFICES
HEROISM AND HIGH-MINDEDNESS,
NOBILITY AND NATIONALISM
PLUS
INVINCIBLE INTERNATIONALISM

By

JAGAT S. BRIGHT

ARMY PUBLISHERS
166, NEW LAJPAT RAI MARKET,
DELHI-6.

Published by :
L. D. ARORA FOR
ARMY PUBLISHERS,
166, NEW LAJPAT RAI MARKET, DELHI-6.

Price Rs. 4·00

Printed at :
RAJKAMAL ELECTRIC PRESS,
SUBZI MANDI, DELHI-7.

To

LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI

War's Very Valiant Victor-Victim

&

THE INDIAN ARMED FORCES

Who Redeened the Honour of the Nation

The Sceptre and Crown
Must tumble down
And in the dust be equal made
With Scythe and Spade.

AT TASHKENT

"*Where the victor-victim bleeds*"
Shastri is dead !
And Hope is fled
From Honesty's bed ;
But we must go, sad or gay,
In the normal way
On an abnormal day.

——*January 11, 1966.*

I believe that the world is advancing towards wide-scale co-operation. It has no other way out, since war is the only alternative to co-operation.

We shall continue to search for ways for further co-operation, particularly on such questions as disarmament and prevention of war.

War must be eliminated from people's minds. We do not want any war whatever and in particular any thermonuclear war, because it would mean catasprophe for the world. War must be eliminated not only from life but also from the consciousness of men.

——*Jawaharlal Nehru.*

Do thy part !

Be mindful of thy name, and tremble not !
Nought better can betide a martial soul
Than lawful war ; happy the warrior
To whom comes joy of battle——comes, as now,
Glorious and fair unsought ; opening for him
A gateway unto Heaven. But, if thou shunn'st
This honourable field——a Kshatriya——
If knowing thy duty and thy task, thou bidd'st
Duty and Task go by——that shall be sin !
And those to come shall speak thee infamy
From age to age ; but infamy is worse
For men of noble blood to bear than death !

——*Lord Krishna.*

PREFATORY

India had to fight a great battle within, before fighting a great battle without. Our philosophy is not of war. And war is against our philosophy. India teaches the necessity of war only as a last resort. And that moment came when Pakistan triggered off a great holocaust from Kutch to Kashmir, even when terms of peace in Kutch were being discussed between President Ayub and Prime Minister Shastri.

That was a great disappointment to Shastri, because the situation was exactly that of the Pearl Harbour in the Second World War when Japan launched upon a great war against U.S.A., even when the Japanese Goodwill is sion was discussing peace with USA in Washington !

Shastri felt like Arjuna in the Battle of Kurukshetra. India and Pakistan have been kith and kin. On either side he saw, "Tutors, sons and fathers, grandsires and grandsons, uncles and nephews, cousins, kindred, and friends ! " Only he could not bank upon even his Krishna (Nehru) to guide and advise him. But he remembered what Gandhiji had said, "I will rather have violence than cowardice masquerading as non-violence."

And that is how Pakistan interpretted India's love of peace at home and abroad. President Ayub felt that the Congress *banias* are such cowards that they will never fight beyond the talking table. It was as much a shock to Ayub that Shastri took up his gauntlet as an amazement to Shastri that Ayub had unleashed the treacherous hounds of war in Chhamb instead of keeping them limited to the Haji Pir Pass area in Kashmir.

With lightning speed and in the twinkling of an eye the masses of India were astir like a sleeping lion whose sacred den is attacked by a pack of wolves. It generated in the

nation a current of enthusiasm and energy which Mother India had not known perhaps for a thousand years. Never before in history had the people of India risen to a man to face and fight the common foe. It was turning point in the history of the country. It proved to the world that India's road to peace was not merely paved with good intentions ; but that India was ready to fight for peace, because Pakistan brought home to us the precipitous knife-edged Roman slogan : "If you want peace, get ready for war."

In this short shift of Indo-Pakistan swift-shrift the Indian Armed Forces acquitted themselves most manly, manfully and magnificently. Every soldier became a hero. Every airman became a guardian angel of the nation.

What good the Indo-Pakistan war has done to India and the world will be written in golden pages of the international chronicles, because it has proved that weak-looking Dame Democracy is superior to stoutish Daddy Dictatorship ; and that there is still a hope in the world for a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

This book is only a running commentary and a hasty assessment of the Indo-Pakistan war ; but it will provide dry-as-gun-powder fuel to ignite the imagination of any future historian who will lack the first-hand knowledge of those, like the author, who have lived in and through the war.

Although it is a microscopic study of very recent events, the future historian's telescopic point of view has been kept well in consideration ; because when the present dust and din of Indo-Pakistan animosities dies down, the last war will still have significance in the history of this sub-continent.

That glorious eye-bewitching landscape of rainbow-hued Indo-Pakistan friendship beyond the hill of the Future is much more important that the pastures of the Present which are being eaten dry by the asses of bias and prejudices fostered by the pre-Partition Communalism, bloodshed and British *divide et imperia* of the Past.

We hope the Tashkent spirit will continue to spread until India and Pakistan become friendly like USA and Canada

where people can move freely without passport barriers and custom duties. But USA and Canada too did fight once. And so this Indo-Pakistan War should not surprise us. It had to be fought. War between India and Pakistan was in the making since August 14, 1947 when Pakistan was born by the Caesarian method applied by the British midwifery to the Indian sub-continent.

But Indo-Pakistan war did not prove an easy stroll to New Delhi as President Ayub expected, nor a thousand years war which Pakistan's Foreign Minister Bhutto promised us. It did not last even a year but only fifty days !

The masses of both India Pakistan came cleaner out of this baptism of fire. They have now a better appreciation of peace, because the thousands of young men who have lost their lives can never return ; and their families———mothers, fathers, wives and children———can never enjoy a festive occasion. On Diwali or Id they can only shed a tear for the dear departed ones.

May their souls rest in peace !

"premrose"
v-278, rajouri gardens,
new delhi-15.
5.5.66.

iagat s. bright

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Chapter One

PAKISTAN PEOPLE WERE SPECTATORS !

In concentration the soul is a spectator without the spectacle—*Patanjali.*

In democracy there is only one spectator and all others are actors. In dictatorship there is only one actor and all others are spectators !

When the Indo-Pakistan War broke out, the only Actor in Pakistan was President Ayub Khan, the Dictator. In India the only Spectator was President Dr. Radhakrishnan, the formal, ritualistic, constitutional head of India, the parallel of the British Crown.

The British Crown reigns but does not rule. The Indian President neither reigns nor rules !

The greatest drawback from which Pakistan suffered at the time of war was its Dictatorship. And the greatest asset that India had was its Democracy.

In Democracy the people feel for the nation. In Dictatorship they only think for the country. The heart of the people can never be with a man who has ousted the popular leaders, how much corrupt they may be. The human heart does not merely seek freedom for food but also food for freedom.

How much enemies Dictator Ayub has on his country he can hardly know ! More than the prime minister of a democracy, the dictator is bound to be ringed round by flatterers, careerists and time-servers who dare not tell him what is what, who is who, and where is where. His facts are bound to be fictitious.

If the Pakistan Army did not acquit itself as brilliantly as the Indian Army, it was not the fault of personal sacrifices, patriotism, training or sophisticated American weapons; but the form of government. Alexander Pope was not right when he said :

For forms of government let fools contest,
What is administered best is the best,

because men down the centuries have been fighting for the forms of government rather than the kind of administration. The common Pakistani soldier proved it to the hilt. He fought against India half-heartedly because he was fighting whole-heartedly against the Ayub Dictatorship. His inaction on the front was a practical demonstration of his vote against Ayub.

If only the Indian Government had ordered the Indian Army to capture Lahore at any cost, the Ayub Administration would have toppled "like Humpty Dumpty" and all the King's horses and all the King's men could not put it together again."

Mere Merry-making Mob

"Ever since General Mohammad Ayub Khan assumed control under Martial law in October 1958", wrote a New Delhi newspaper, "the people of Pakistan have been mere spectators of the way the country has been ruled. Overnight they were deprived of even the limited rights and freedom they had enjoyed under the British rule. Political parties were banned and tight control was exercised over the Press. Military rule extended its tentacles into every sphere of life and soon people began to wonder if Pakistan was not one vast prison.

"Agony was heightened by the awareness that across the border the people of India were not only living in full freedom but also progressing steadily towards the goal of a better society. General elections are held, representative governments function and the rule of the law prevails in India, while the people of Pakistan groan under the heels of one military dictatorship."

Stagnant Economy

The economy of Pakistan was shattered as the responsibility of the government increased. No concrete steps were taken

towards the rebuilding of the stagnant economy. A new set of pampered politicians and capitalists was coming up. They were basking in the patronage of the dictator.

"The West Punjab, which had been the breeding ground of the valiant soldiers and a race of industrious people, felt most anguished."

Hate India Campaign

Eighteen years of hate-India campaign by successive Pakistani rulers had not succeeded in making the people of Pakistan wholly and soully anti-India. They could not ignore that the Indian Muslims enjoyed more freedom and had more facilities.

"Evidence of dorment feelings is provided frequently by the fact that people of Pakistan surreptitiously listened to All India Radio and when Indian films are screened in Pakistan. The cultural links with India which the people of Pakistan still cherish are being maintained and poets and literateurs of pakistan still show interest in development in India."

No Blood-thirsty India !

President Ayub and his ministers signally failed in their attempts to project the Government of India as a blood-thirsty tyrant anxious to gobble up its neighbours.

Wild scenes of enthusiasm were witnessed in Pakistan during the march of the Indian soldiers accross enemy's territory. It bore ample testimony to the fact that in the hearts of the people of Pakistan our soldiers have an abiding place.

Fanaticism Boomerangs !

"Religious fanaticism has always been the handmaid of those who came to power in Pakistan. They have never failed to rely on it whatever the situation they are confronted with.

"If economic ruin faces the people, the spectre of Hindu India trying to deny irrigation waters to them or attempting to undercut them in the world market is trotted out.

"If Pakistan faces any setback in the international relations, again, the scapegoat is India.

"By now Ayub Khan must have realized that all these tactics boomerang. It is perhaps the beginning of realization that compelled Ayub Khan to plead with his people to back up his adventurous action in Jammu and Kashmir."

Growing Dichotomy

Foreign observers testified that when the Indian Army attacked the Lahore sector, there was a growing dichotomy between the people and the government. The people of Pakistan were waiting to welcome the Indian liberators.

President Ayub was too well aware of his shaky position. Therefore, he rushed to the Pakistan Radio on September 6, 1965 to appeal to the people to put up with his misadventure in Pakistan's hour of trial.

Chapter Two

PAKISTAN'S HOUR OF TRIAL

This is a grim climax
Ayub Khan

(Speech of Aub Khan on September 6, 1965)

The hour of trial for the hundred million people of Pakistan has come !

The Indian Army attacked Pakistan territory in the earlier hours of this morning on the Lahore front, and in a cowardly manner they also strafed from the air a stationary passenger train in Wazirabad.

This is a grim climax to the chain of wilful acts of aggression that the Indian rulers have been committing for the last five months.

Indian Conquests

It started wlth the violation of the cease-fire line in May when they occupied three posts on our side in the Kargil sector. At the intervention of the UN, the Indians temporarily vacated these posts and then reoccupied them and others.

In their aggression they proceeded to occupy posts in the Tithwal sector and then moved in full strength in the Uri-Poonch area.

Not content with shattering the cease-fire line, they shelled the village of Awan in Pakistan territory. It was clear that the restraint which Pakistan had exercised even in the face of these provocations was misunderstood by the Indians.

Azad Kashmir Forces

To contain the Indian aggression the Azad Kashmir forces were obliged to move in the Bhimber sector.

The Indian recklessly threw their Air Force into action thus precipitating a grave crisis.

By then it was clear to the whole world that Indian aggression in Kashmir was only a preparation for an attack on Pakistan.

Today they have given a signal proof of that evil intention which India has always harboured against Pakistan since its inception.

Adventure in Imperialism

The Indian rulers were never reconciled to the establishment of an independent Pakistan where Muslims could build a homeland of their own. All their military preparations during the last eighteen years were directed against us.

They exploited the Chinese bogey to secure massive armed assistance from some of our friends in the West who never understood the mind of the Indian rulers and permitted themselves to be taken in by Indians that once they were fully armed, they will fight the Chinese.

We always knew that these arms will be used against us. Time has proved this so.

Customary Cowardice !

Now that the Indian rulers with their customary cowardice and hypocrisy have ordered their army to march into the sacred territory of Pakistan without a formal declaration of war.

The time has come for us to give a crushing reply which will put an end to India's adventure in imperialism.

The brave people of Lahore have been chosen as the first to confront the enemy. They will remain in history as a people who delivered the last blow to destroy the enemy.

The hundred million people of Pakistan, whose hearts beat with the sound of

"La Illaha Ill-Lal-Illah Mohammad Rasul Illah !"

will not rest till Indian guns are silenced forever.

The Indian people do not yet realize what people they have taken on. Dedicated to their faith and convinced of the justice of their cause they will fight as one man in the name of God whose promise to mankind is that right will triumph.

State of Emergency

A state of Emergency has been declared. We are at war. Our brave soldiers have gone forward to repel the enemy.

The Armed Forces of Pakistan will prove their mettle. Armed with an invincible spirit of determination which has never faltered, they will give a crushing blow to the enemy.

The Government of Pakistan is fully prepared and all its resources will be employed to deal with the enemy. In our struggle against the aggressors, we will no doubt have sympathy and support of all those who believe in peace and freedom.

We are invoking the UN Charter to exercise our inherent right of individual and collective self-defence recognised in chapter 7 of the Charter.

Dedication and Division

My dear countrymen ! in this hour of trial you have to perform the supreme duty which demands complete dedication and devotion.

God in his infinite mercy will grant you success and he will also promise success to those who are engaged in just cause.

Be prepared to strike and strike hard for the evil which has raised its head against your borders and is doomed to destruction.

Go forward and meet the enemy !

God is with you !

Chapter Three

PAKISTAN FORCED WAR ON US !

...this time of grave crisis
—*Dr. S. Radhakrishnan*

(Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, speaking from All India Radio, summed up the position of India at war with Pakistan)

Friends, I am speaking to you at this time of grave crisis—a crisis that has been forced on us ! We are engaged in this conflict with deep sorrow in our hearts. We know that the way to growth is through suffering and not through despair.

Who at War ?

President Ayub of Pakistan has announced that Pakistan is at war with us !

In accordance with this statement, the Pakistan Air Force has obviously been permitted to attack our cities and not confine themselves strictly to military targets. The Pakistan Navy has also been brought into action against our port at Dwarka.

India Not at War !

But we in India do not regard ourselves as at war with Pakistan. We have friendly feelings for the people of Pakistan and have been careful to do precisely no more than what is required to safeguard our territorial integrity. Our attacks have been confined to military installations and Pakistan troop movements.

August 5, 1965

This conflict has been forced on us, because there has been a persistent and continuous attempt, since the 5th August, by Pakistan, to take law into its own hands, and upset by force the legitimately established Government in the State of Jammu and Kashmir. Both the United Nations Secretary-General and the United Nations Military Observer Group have recognised this.

Confronted with this massive infilteration of armed men in disguise and some in uniform, others without, across the cease-fire line, we have done only what was necessary to do to round up these infiltrators and when Pakistan refused to call off their entry into India, to prevent further inflitration.

September 1, 1965

Then on the 1st of September, when it became clear that the people of Kashmir were refusing to collaborate with the infiltrators, Pakistan, as the world knows, launched a massive attack south of ceasefire line and across the international boundary between West Punjab and State of Jummu and Kashmir, with a large number of tanks, supported by regular infantry units of the Pakistan Army and jet aircraft of the Pakistan Air Force. The attack was obviously intended to severe communications between Kashmir and the rest of India. Pakistan then attacked other Indian towns from the air.

It, therefore, became necessary for us to thwart this aggression, to strike at the bases from which this aggression was being launched, and to forestall other attacks all along the border which Pakistan has been planning.

We Detest War !

But in the midst of this tragic conflict, thrust on us by our neighbour, I wish to remind you that we should not and cannot forget our traditions, our ideals and our history. We detest war and all its horror.

Our Troops Fought for Peace Only

Our troops have so far fought for peace and for the defence of our land.

They went to Korea many years ago at the behest of the

United Nations for the safeguarding of peace.

They went to Congo again at the behest of the United Nations to prevent the development of the conflict in Congo into a fratricidal war.

The campaigns of 1962 were inflicted on us by China. And, today, we are driven to battle with Pakistan—a battle not of our seeking.

No War Pact

We have repeatedly offered to Pakistan a "No War" declaration ; and in 1963, when we undertook to talk with the Government of Pakistan about Kashmir and other related matters, we even proposed a disengagement of troops, all along the cease-fire line. But Pakistan rejected this offer.

She seeks now, as in 1947, to secure, by force, settlement of her own choosing, Even now, she has declined to promise to the Secretary General of the United Nations, whom we shall soon have the opportunity of welcoming here, that she will respect the cease-fire line.

No Desire to Escalate War !

We have no desire to escalate conflict. At every stage, it has been Pakistan that has taken the first step in widening the conflict.

It is to me, as I know, it is to all of us, a matter of profound satisfaction, that in this grave crisis we have all closed our ranks, set aside the superficial differences of creed and caste, and behaved, first of all, like true Indians.

60 Million Indian Muslims !

We have sixty million Muslims who are honoured citizens of our country.

Practically every Muslim organization, all Muslim members of Parliament, and every articulate Muslim in India, from Cape Comorin to Srinagar, have pledged loyalty and support to the stand of the Government of India.

Fight for Principles

We are fighting today not for a piece of territory, but for

fundamental principles. Victory in our struggle is vital to the saving of free institutions.

India has a freely elected Government, a free press, reliance on law, and a non-communal state, which respects all religions.

We are resisting a military dictatorship, a controlled press, and a theocratic State.

Lamp of Freedom

We believe in freedom even for those who think differently from us.

The interest of democracy demand our victory; otherwise the lamp of freedom will go out of Asia.

Hail, Indian Soldiers !

May I congratulate our officers and jawans on the front for their courage, heroism and sacrifice and express to them our gratituide of the whole nation.

They have not only displayed gallantry and valour in the field, they have also shown chivalry, and above all, we are proud of their nobility, which is a great part of our nobility which is a great gift of India.

And let the rest of us, who are not on the field of battle, remember their readiness to sacrifice even the most precious gift of life and adopt an attitude of courage and self-denial.

Chapter Four

WHY INDIA MUST WIN THIS WAR ?

India will win and then show magnanimity
—*John Grigg*

(Ma. John Grigg, formerly Lord Altrincham, a noted political commmentator, wrote in *The Guardian* dated September 9, 1965 that India's victory in its current conflict with Pakistan "would have the same vital significance for the East" as the North's victory in the American Civil War in having preserved the American democracy to be the salvation of the Western world. He deplored that "India is receiving virtually no encouragement in the struggle which will decide the fate of the institutions in Asia." Here are a few extracts from his article.)

At all political levels my smypathies are with India. We cannot afford to treat a secular State with a freely elected Government and a free press on par with a theocratic State ruled by a military dictator and with a controlled press.

Both sides are fightting for natiional survival and for the very principles of their national existence. Pakistan has to assert the communal idea. India has to resist it.

Victory in Macinanimity

My own fervent hope is that India will win and will then show magnanimity in vietory.

If India loses, fissiparous tendencies in the country will soon get out of control and the light of freedom wll be extinguished in Asia.

Either way those in the West who are now failing to support India will have a massive cause for regret.

Now that the crunch has come between India and Pakistan, I cannot pretend to be neutral. So far as the individuals are concerned—fighting men on either side, their families, victims of air raids, refugees—I am equally sorry for them all. But at political level, my sympathies are with India.

Most of the comments during the last two or three days have sickened me. Politicians and other opinion-formers in the West are misjudging the issue on a truly Himalayan scale. At best, they are viewing the combatants as Tweedledum. At worst, they are siding with Pakistan. India is receiving virtually no encouragement in a struggle which will decide the fate of the free Institutions in Asia.

Magnanimity in Victory

People seem incapable of grasping the unique importance of Indian democracy and even those who do not realize, what a miracle it is—and what measureless disaster its destruction would be—cannot see the connection between India's freedom and integrity of India's federal union. Yet the two are inseparable.

Let no one doubt that this is an issue in the present war—an issue, which, as we now believe, justified Abraham Lincoln in fighting one of the bloodiest wars in history. At that time, of course, sophisticated British opinion was strongly opposed to Linclon and his cause. Gentlemanly Southerners were preferred to seeming sanctimonious Yankees. But, in the perspective of history, true merits of the struggle are more clearly seen.

North victory preserved American democracy to be the salvation of the Western world. India's victory would have the same vital significance for the East.

——

Chapter Five

FROM KUTCH TO KASHMIR

> "If the Pakistanis", said a military expert of great experience, "had had the spirit and training of the Indians and Indians had had the planes and tanks of the Pakistanis, why then a decision would have been inevitable. One or the other side would have definitely won. As as it, there's a draw, rather strongly in favour of the Indians, but still a draw. That push towards Akhnoor in the Chamb area, that the Indians should never have permitted; once the Pakistanis had got in, the Indians should have concentrated air-power on destroying the tanks and pushed the Pakistanis right out of Jammu. They didn't, with the result that Ayubkhan now says he holds 200 square miles of Jammu and won't get out of it. An error in generalship that was, it seems to me; probably the only real one, though, on the Indian side. *—OPINION, September 28, 1965.*

Did Ayubkhan's forces marched from Kutch to Kashmir or from Kashmir to Kutch? It was a well-planned strategy of war on which the Pakistanis generals must have spent many vigilant and wakeful nights. It was sheerly due to a dreadful destiny that the plans of cabbages and kings went astray. So far as human planning goes, there is no doubt that Pakistan's march to Delhi could have been an easy evening stroll, the elephant of a Patton tank crushing its way through a mass of non-violent ants.

Long before Kutch

Pakistan's preparations for war started long before the

Kutch incident was staged and staged-managed. For years Pakistan was talking in terms of jehad against India. Recently, the Karachi and Rawalpindi talked of Algerian-type guerilla war. They made a careful study of Chinese politico-military tactics. There were 1800 cease-fire violations in Kashmir during the first seven months of 1965.

First open throw of the Dice

"The action in Kutch last April, however, was the first open throw of the dice", writes B. G. Verghese. "The gamble failed. The Kashmir question could not be activated. Pakistan next tried to cut the Srinagar-Leh road, India's lifeline to Ladakh, at Kargil. This was countered by the Indian Army's occupation of two Pakistani posts overlooking Kargil on May 16 from which India withdraw after a U.N. assurance of a close watch over this crucial sector by its military observers."

India and Pakistan signed an agreement on the Kutch-Sind border on June 30, 1965. Its preamble held out the foppish but foolish hope that "this will also contribute to a reduction of the present tensions along the entire Indo-Pakistan border."

The hope though high was badly belied. Pakistan had other designs on India. The diary of a Pakistani whose bomber was shot down over Jamnagar on September 7 is quite illuminating. An entry dated April 20, 1965 gives details of operational training missions over Indian air bases at Jamnagar, Adampur, Halwara, Ambala, Palam, Agra and Bhuj. Tick marks indicated that practice runs had already been over the first four targets.

Full-fledged War

Pakistan had made preparations for a full-fledged war. A document recovered from a school at Kahuta below the Haji Pir Pass contains an order dated June 15, 1965 prescribing compulsory military training for all boys over 15 years of age. Another document called for compulsory registration of all "technical personnel" including drivers, electricians, carpenters, etc.

Operation Gibralter

Interrogation of infiltrators indicates that their training

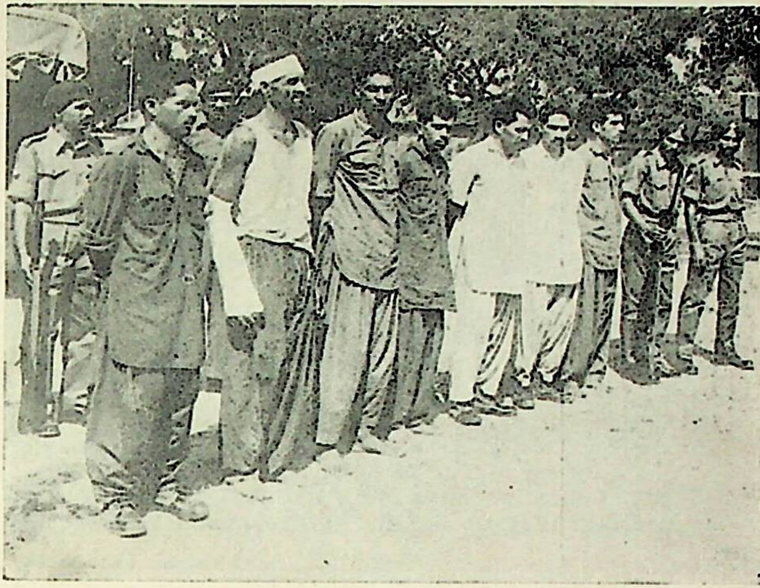
commenced on May 26, 1965, under the overall direction of Major-General Akhtar Hussain Malik. Four training centres were established for these so-called "Gibralter forces." Eight forces were raised each with six companies of 110 men. These were given the evocative and provocative names of Khalid, Khilji, Salahuddin, Kasim, Ghaznavi and Babar.

Later these forces crossed into India across forests and high mountains and were detected by Kashmiri shepherds, some of them refused to be bribed and brought. They reported the matter to the police and clashes took place between the Pakistani infiltrators who were armed with modern weapons and the Indian forces. These were recorded in the report submitted to the U. N. Secretary-General by his Chief Military Observer in Kashmir, General Nimmo. The number of the raiders was estimated to exceed 1000.

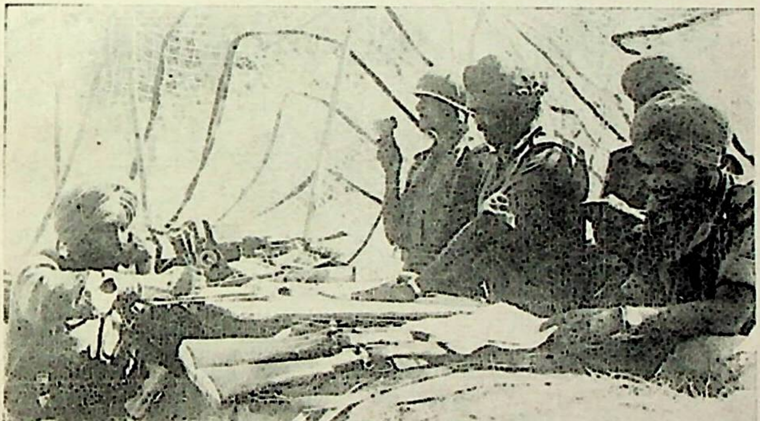
Operation Infiltration went away because there was no worthwhile response from the local Muslims in Kashmir who refused to burnt their fingers in Ayub's fire. He miserably failed to spark off a revolt in Kashmir. The coup was detected on D-minus four days. Festival of Pir Dastagir Sahib was due to be celebrated in Srinagar on August 8th and D-day was planned for August 9th—the anniversary of the arrest of Sheikh Abdullah. The infiltrators were to join a procession and stage an armed revolt. Then they were to constitute a Revolutionary Council. This was to become the lawful government. Pakistan was to cross the cease-fire line in response to a "friendly government". A "proclamation" for the "war of liberation" was brought readymade to be delivered from Srinagar Radio.

The proclamation was addressed to the "brave Kashmiris" who are expected to "arise" for "now is the time". It announced the formation "today" by "a revolutionary council of patriots" of a "National Government of Jammu and Kashmir" which decreed the annulment of "all alleged treaties and agreements between the imperialist Government of India and Kashmir". It further declared that its orders would be issued over "Kashmir National Radio." Referring to the people of Pakistan it declared : "Now is the time for them too to join us in our struggle for life and liberty."

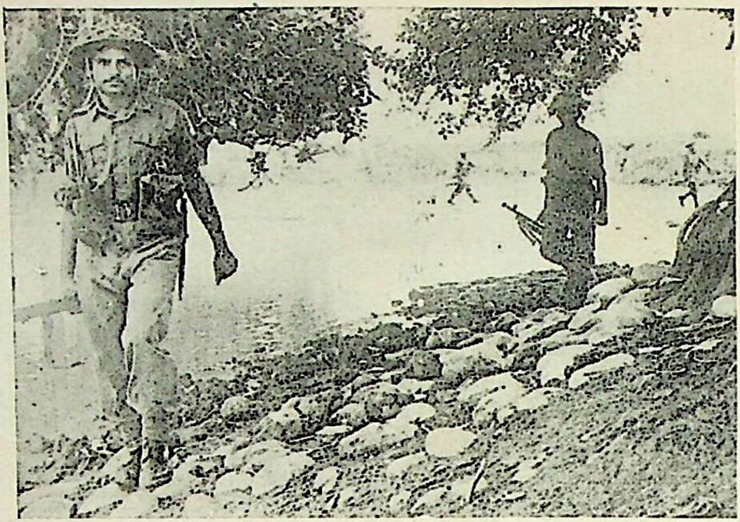
The plan was frustrated. Programme was miscarried. Only



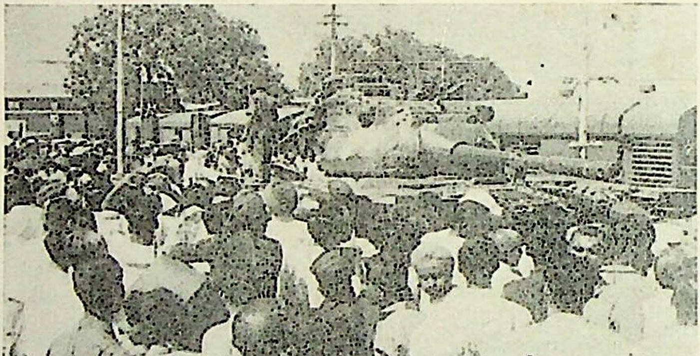
A batch of Pak Infiltrators



An Indian gun control position somewhere in Burki area.



Photograph shows an Indian Army patrol on duty somewhere near the ceasefire line in the Jammu and Kashmir area.

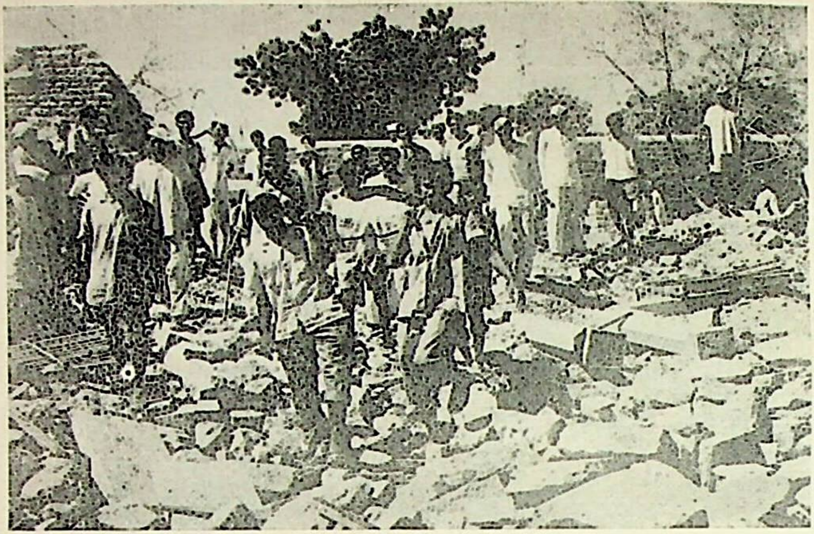


One of the numerous captured Pakistani Patton tanks, which has been brought to Delhi on September 16.



A Patton Tank disabled in water.





Pakistan Bombs Jodhpur Jail Hospital
Pakistan Air Force bombed the Jail Hospital of Jodhpur on September 22, 1965 with 1000 lb. high explosive bombs. Photo shows recovered dead bodies being removed from the site.



A patrol party setting out on a combing operation somewhere in Jammu and Kashmir.



Shri Gulzarilal Nanda along with Shri Darbara Singh, Home Minister, Punjab, inspecting the ceasefire line somewhere in the foreward area in Punjab

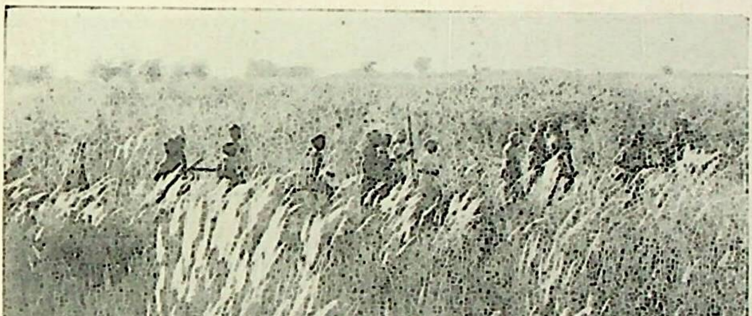
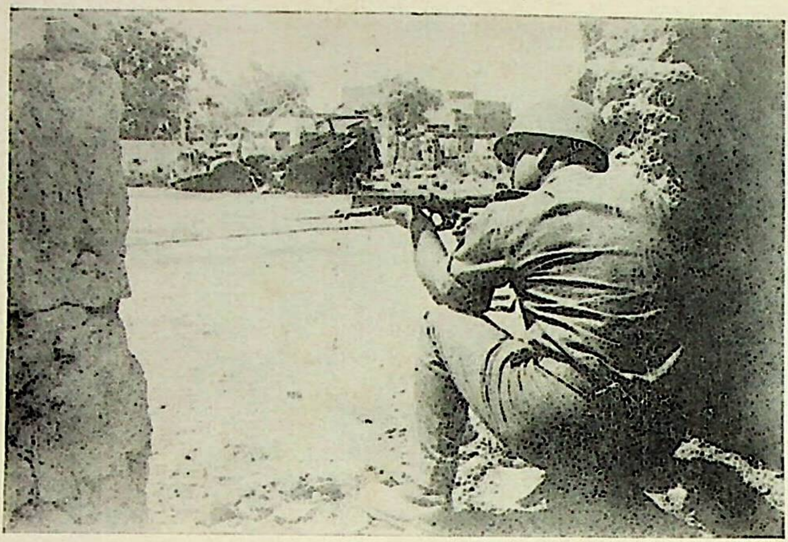
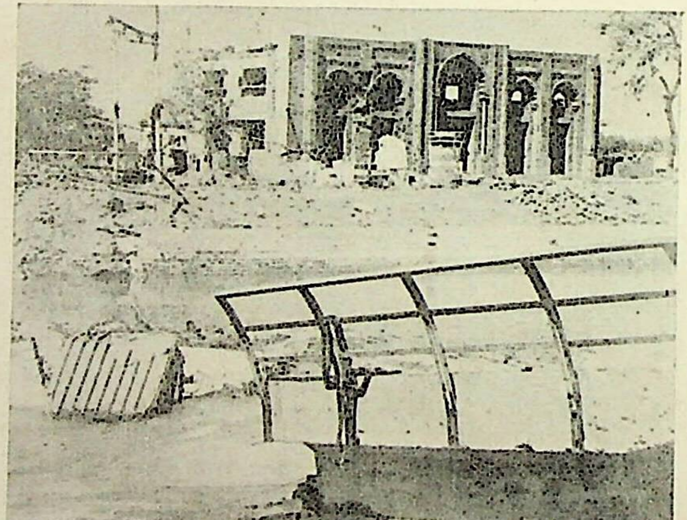


Photo shows villagers alongwith members of security forces engaged in combing and mopping up operations in a village in the Punjab.



Burki Village Falls to our Troops

Burki village—6 mills within Pakistan border south of Lahore —was captured by our troops on the night of September 10, 1965.



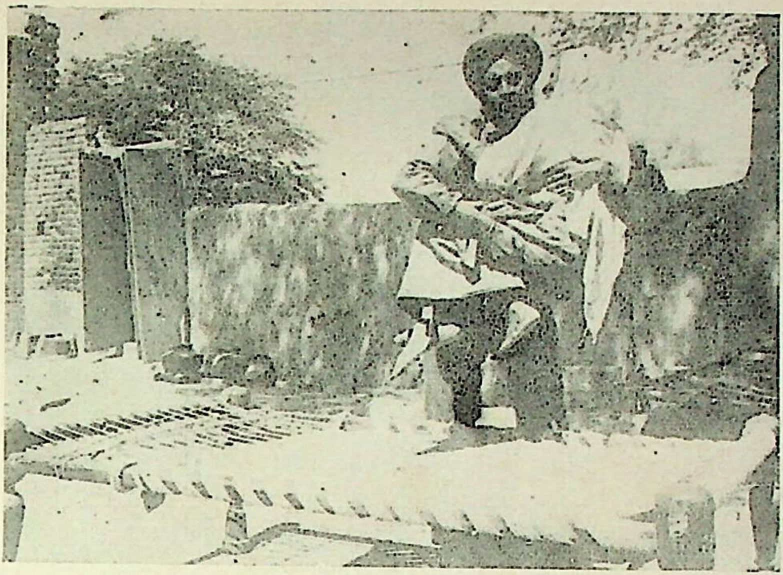
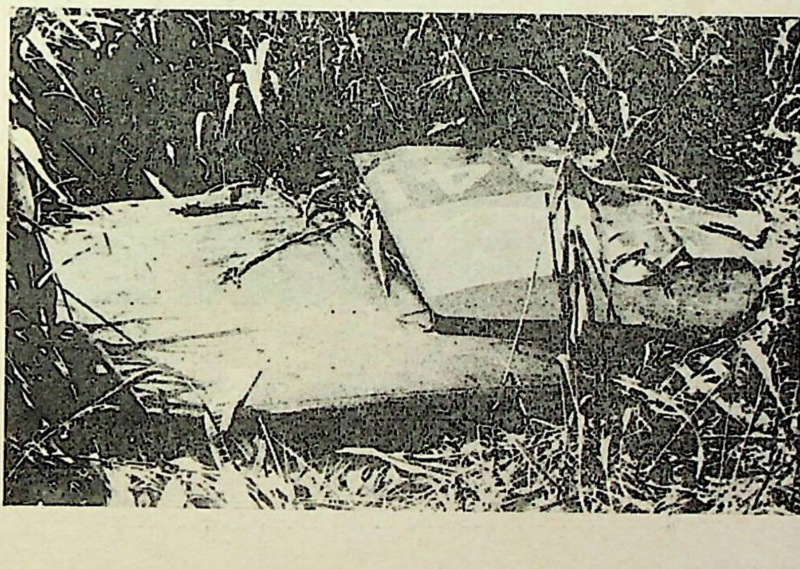
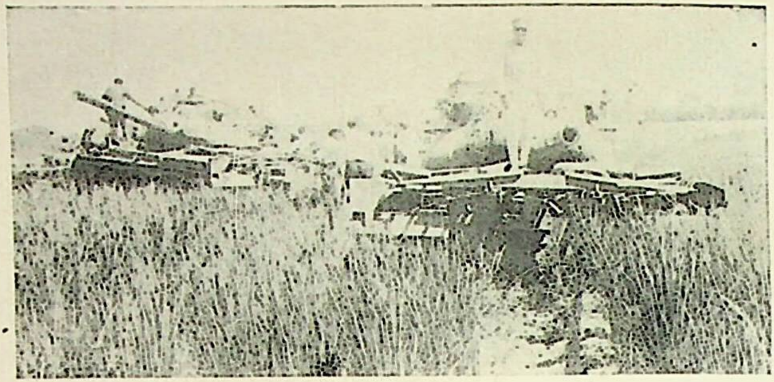
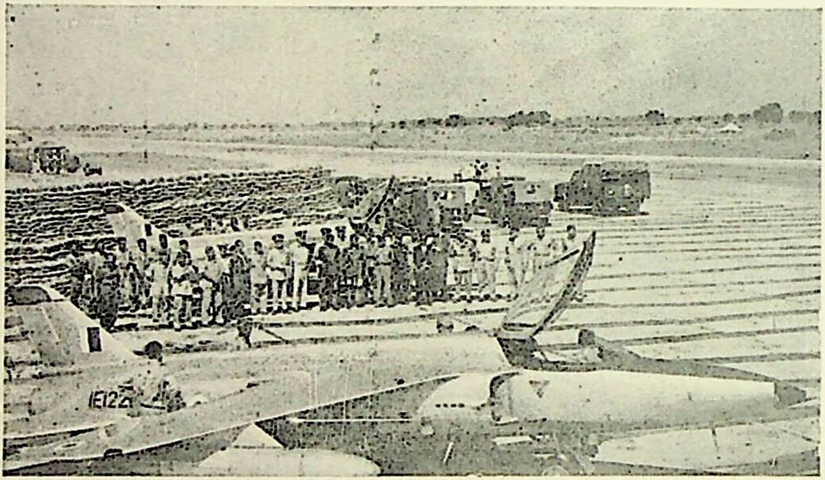


Photo shows an Indian jawan helping to a cot outside her house, an 85-year old woman, Hasana Begum of village Salian in the Sialkot sector.





Virender M.A. Editor "Partap" and "Vir Partap" on a Patton Tank



A group of foreign Air Attaches and Air Advisers representing Austria, Burma, Canada, France, West Germany, Iraq, Japan, Thailand, UAR, UK, USA, USSR and Yugoslavia visited IAF Air bases at Adampur, Ambala, Halwara and Pathankot in Punjab on Octoder 8, 1965.

The photo shows the group of Air Advisers photographed with GNAT crew at one of the forward stations.

the niagra of untruths from Sad-e-Kashmir Radio carried scintillating descriptions of their heroism.

Direct Action

By August 9th, 1965, Rawalpindi realized that short of direct action by its forces, the infiltrators faced a doleful death and a dreadful disaster, shame and national humiliation. So direct intervention, which was to be a follow-on, now became an accompanying action.

On August 10th General Nimmo reported "armed raiders" in the sensitive Kargil sector. On August 14th Pakistan crossed into Chhamb sector. General Nimmo reported: "Indian positions along CFL (Ceasefire Line) were subject to heavy artillery and mortar fire from the Pakistan side on August 15/16. The attacking forces captured nine Indian positions on August 16/17." Here was a full-scale invasion as an Indian communique described it "a severe attack launched in battalion strength."

General Chaudhuri, Chief of the Army Staff, described this action as a "big attack" in which Pakistan moved up artillery from Sialkot. He said that a U.N. observer had told him that he was appalled at the quantity of artillery being used against the Indian positions along the cease-fire line.

An invitation to China

When Pakistan Army cut the Srinagar-Leh Road, a door was being opened for China to walk in. It was an open invitation, perhaps already planned by mutual consent. "This was delivered on August 15th, when Indian troops assaulted and carried three mountain features which they had vacated barely two months earlier on a U.N. assurance that it would strengthen its observer force in the region."

On August 15th also the Pakistani forces crossed the international border and, quoting from General Nimmo's report, "raided the village on Raipur side five miles on the Indian side of the Pakistan-Jammu border.

On the contrary, the infiltrators were not finding Kashmir an hospitable country, waiting for a revolution. On August 23/24 it was reported that Major Mehraj Din of the Khalid

Force along with two companies had crossed back into POK (Pakistan Occupied Kashmir).

India Fights Back

On August 24th units of the Indian Army crossed the CFL in the Tithwal sector. On the following day they captured three Pakistani posts on two hill features. Within a few days the Indian troops consolidated their positions. On September 11, the Pakistani forces blew up the Mirpur bridge across the river. Indian forces dominated the vital Muzaffarabad-Kel road. An important infiltration route was sealed.

A more important route lay through Haji Pir Pass. Pakistan expected a frontal attack through the north, along the old Uri-Poonch Road. But the Indian unit moved cross-country over difficult mountain terrain. It was a bold swift manoeuvre skilfully executed. The Indian Tricolour went up on Haji Pir at 10.30 A.M. on August 28th. "The Indian commander and his jawans shared their rations that evening with the Pakistani captain and his men whom they had taken prisoner."

A fierce Pakistani attack was beaten back the next day. The Pakistanis were now seriously worried.

Offensive Capability

On August 29th, Major General Akhtar Hussain Malik commanding the so-called Gibralter Forces, issued a top secret order to Brigadier Fazle Rahim, Commander Khilji Force, expressing concern over the "offensive capability" assumed by Indian forces in the Tithwal sector. He sent Khilji forces to attack Indian crusaders from the rear but the strategy failed.

"By now Pakistan was desperate. Its miscalculations were coming home to roost. It had signally failed in every one of its objectives, and its reliance on force and fraudulence stood exposed in General Nimmo's report."

Operation Grandslam

At 4 A.M. on the morning of September 1st, the Pakistani Army launched a carefully prepared offensive in the Chhamb sector apparently code-named "Operation Grandslam". According to General Chaudhuri, the U.N. military observer in the

area had warned the Indian authorities that Pakistani infantry and armoured units were moving up from Sialkot and were likely to attack across the CFL as well as the international border. This was it !

A little before light Pakistani heavy guns on September 1st commenced a concentrated artillery barrage to soften up the Indian defences near the village of Chhamb.

"Here "says B. G. Verghese" was the flourish of Pattons that Pakistan had earlier demonstrated in Kutch on ground of its own choosing. With its very short line of communications (b of c), Pakistan could deploy heavy armour which it was in a position to reinforce from its nearby bases of Sialkot, Gujrat and Kharian, India was at a serious disadvantage on account of its long, exposed (I of C) of and the thin strip of plain it was defending and which offered little freedom of manooeuvre, Moreover, it was not possible to move heavy armour beyond Akhnur nor would it have been prudent to do so."

Indian Air Force did a good job in Chammb, destroying eighteen tanks on the first day, But Pakistan had another strategy. It had simultaneous planned an invasion from Lahore to Delhi via Gurdaspur and Khem-Karan.

"Pakistan calculated that the political shock of such a military disaster would break the Indian will to resist, sow confusion, panic and discord in Delhi and enable Pakistan to absorb Kashmir with whatever minimal international formalities might be decently required. This would have been a grand-slam."

India Had to Act

On September 4, the Chinese Foreign Minister, Marshal Chen Yi flew into Karachi and conferred for six hours with Mr. Bhutto.

The previous day the Pakistani Ambassador in Peking met Mr. Chou En-lai and the New China News Agency reported that India had "whipped up tension in Kashmir". Marshal Chen Yi went further in supporting "the just cause taken by Pakistan to repel the Indian armed provocation."

As if this was not enough, a PAF Sabre jet made an unsuccessful low level attack on certain key air force installa-

tion in the Amritsar area on September 5th.

The Indian Army crossed the Pakistan border in the Lahore sector at dawn on September 6th. The IAF made tactical strikes against military targets.

"The West, which had thus far been virtually silent was quick to describe the new development as an Indian invasion of Pakistan."

President Ayub broadcast, "We are at war."

Ichhogil Canal

The first wave of the Indian offensive in the Lahore sector carried our armed forces up to the Ichhogil canal.

It is a strongly held barrier, running approximately 50 miles north to south, from the Ravi to the Sutlej,

The canal is steep-walled lined canal; some 120 feet wide and 15 feet deep. It was built as an anti-tank ditch, well-protected by concrete pill-boxes and gun emplacements.

It had been developed over several years as the outer defence of Lahore.

The battle swayed between the Indian border and the Ichhogil Canal with attack and counter-attack. But the cease-fire saw the Indian forces on the canal along its entire length and its occupation of the strong points of Dogri and Burki.

Lahore was not the Prize

"On September 7, the Pakistanis counter-attacked fiercely in the Lahore sector and it may have seemed that this was where the decisive action was being fought with Lahore as a prize. This view is mistaken.

"It was never the Indian intention to try and capture Lahore though it may have been tactically useful to let the enemy think otherwise.

"Such an objective would have exacted a heavy price for a dud bargain, militarily profitless and a political liability.

"What India sought was not conquest of territory in Pakistan proper from which it would in any case retire at some point, but the destruction or attrition of the enemy's war

potential and military machine. This was the real objective and in the subsequent battles was substantially achieved."

While a ding-dong struggle continued in the Lahore sector, major battles were being fought in Kasur and Jammu-Sialkot sectors. It is noteworthy that Pakistan's pride, 1st Armoured Division, was moved to the Sialkot sector.

The Pakistanis expected a frontal attack on Sialkot. They were disappointed. India did not want to take cities as prizes, It only sought vantage points to draw Pakistan's might and destroy it.

Battle of Phillora

A decisive battle between India and Pakistan was fought at Phillora. As many as 66 enemy tanks were destroyed in a single day. India lost only 6 tanks. The battle took place on September 11. It took the heart out of the Pakistan Army. Thereafter, it only awaited its final doom ; and Ayub Khan issued S.O.S, to President Johnson to save his sinking ship.

Chapter Six

MANY "HONOURS" FOR PAKISTAN

Is there no honour in dis-honour ?
Pakistani Proverb

Pakistan stood "first" in many things and in multifarious actions in the last Indo-Pakistan War.

She can claim to have done things which it should not have done; and not done things which it should have done !

"What distinguishes war", said William Ellery Channing, "is not that man is slain, but that he is slain, spoiled, crushed, by the cruelty of injustice, the treachery, and the murderous hand of man."

Even a jackal can kill a lion cub through treachery! The treacherous murder of his two young sons by Emperor Aurangzabe brought burning words of vengeance from the pen of Guru Gobind Singh :—

It matters little if a jackal
Through cunning and treachery
Succeeded in killing two lion cubs;
But while the lion himself is alive,
He lives to inflict retribution on you !

The same was true in the case of Pakistan's invasion of India. Many lives were lost through Pakistan's bombing of civilian areas. But the Indian Lion did not retaliate !

On no occasion the Indian soldiers killed the Pakistani civilians or practised treachery to gain undue advantages in which the Pakistanis, trained by the Chinese mentors and masters, often indulged for the joy of it.

Escalation of War

After inducting five thousand armed raiders and marauders, looters and free-booters into Kashmir on August 5, 1965, Pakistan was the first to escalate fighting in other parts of the country.

Crossing International Frontier

Pakistan forces were the first to cross on September, 1,1965 the international frontier. So far they had confined their activities to the cease-fire line in Kashmir, But now they crossed the established boundary line between India and Pakistan.

The Pakistan forces crossed the junction of the ceasefire line close to the international frontier.

It was on September 1st that Pakistan openly announced that she has marched her ground forces into Chhamb sector.

Using Air Force

Pakistan was the first to use its air force into the fighting in support of her regular forces in the Chhamb sector. Thereafter they have been bombing civilian targets indiscriminately.

Tank Warefare

Pakistan was the first to introduce tank warefare on September 1st in its blitzkrieg to out of Jammu & Kashmir from the rest of India,

Bombing Amritsar Airport

Pakistan was the first to widen the area of conflict from Kashmir to the Punjab on September 5, 1965 by openly intruding into Indian air space across the international border at Wagah and firing rockets at an Indian Air Force unit at Amritsar.

Pakistan Declares War

In a broadcast on September 6th, President Ayub threw off the mask and declared : "We are at war."

This was the first time that a responsible Pakistani leader talked officially of war.

An Indian spokesman said on September 6th that India was

not at war either with the people of Pakistan or with the State of Pakistan.

Pakistan Capturing Ships

Pakistan was again the first for taking fighting to the seas. On September 1, 1965, Pakistan impounded two Indian merchant navy vessels of the Scindia Steam Navigation Company.

The ship was S.S. Sarasvati a coastal passenger liner operating on the Bombay-Karachi run. Another ship captured was the 10,000-ton S.S. Jal Rajendra which had called at Karachi from Europe to unload about 3,500 tons of general cargo.

Pakistan Naval Invasion

On the morning of September 8, 1965, Pakistan used its Navy and without any justification bombarded Dwarka Port on the coast of Kathiawar.

Dwarka is an ancient religious place and had no military installations, nor did it have anti-aircraft guns there.

This wanton vandalism was not justified by any canons of international war. But Pakistan seemed to be on a war steed that had lost its head. It could not distinguish between what was good and what was bad for her.

There is an old adage : "Whom the gods destroy, they first make mad."

President Ayub, like Hitler, did not seem to be in his senses or his commanders did not consult him on what they did not do.

Pakistan seemed to be suffering from the want of a central strategy; and local commanders were thrown on their wits. Everybody seemed to be doing everything to frighten the Indian forces and cow down the Indian masses. But they failed to achieve their target.

India kept up the highest morale on the front and in the rear. War called forth a new stamina in the nation.

Chapter Seven

THE AZURE CUP OF FAITH

Give me, my beloved, the Azure Cup of Faith,
For, this is what I need for the day of decision,
Give this to me to recreate myself
That I can gather pearls out of mire.

—*Guru Gobind Singh*

India fought Pakistan with an Azure Cup of Faith. We were caught unprepared. War was thrust on us. We did not have the sophisticated weapons which Pakistan had received as gifts from Uncle Sam.

Most of our weapons were outdated and outmoded. The modern weapons we did possess were not ultra-modern and sophisticated like Pakistan's. Some of them were mannfactured in our own factories.

But we had something which Pakistan did not have—full firm faith of the people in what we were doing. The people on the front were ready to make supreme sacrifices. We could not say, as Ayub believed, that march to Rawalpindi will be an easy stroll. In fact, we did not want to reach Lahore.

Territorial conquest was not the objective of our Armed Forces. They were trying to contain Pakistani militarism and not to usurp Pakistani territory. Attack on Lahore was necessitated for the defence of Amritsar and to check Ayub from having an easy stroll to New Delhi.

For this limited objective, our soldiers and people were ready to make (indeed, made!) supreme sacrifices. In no war of the

world in history so many officers died as our young officers plunged into the oven of fire for the defence of the homeland.

Look for Fifth Columnists

The first task before the Indian people and the Indian Army was to look for fifth columnists and infiltrators dropped by parachutes in the Punjab, Delhi and Rajasthan. These people could do a tremendous damage if they were allowed to mix with the local population.

Union Home Minister called for "constant vigil and vigorous action" by the people to get rid of spies, saboteurs and subversive elements who might have entered the country.

"It is for us on the home front", he said, "to provide effective support to the jawans on the front, and take full care of the internal strength and security of the nation."

The effect was electric. Even children took to arms against Pakistan. Anybody who could be suspected of being a Pakistani spy was rounded up and handed over to the police. In fact the Ayub's paratroopers did not get a fair chance even to extricate themselves from the paraphernalia of the parachutes before they were spotted and caught !

Communal Harmony

The second need was for communal harmony. It was a sacred duty of everybody to cultivate it.

There was not a single case of commuual disturbance anywhere in the country.

In fact, both the Hindus and Muslims, Sikhs and others, fought shoulder to shoulder, for the defence of the Motherland "for the ashes of our fathers and the temples of our gods," as Horatio put it while defending the bridge to his motherland.

Wheels of Production

It was important that the wheels of production must keep moving at full speed, despite bombing and other losses, to provide for our army at the front.

This was fully responded to. There were no labour strikes anywhere. There was no black market. In fact, things were cheaper and more readily available during war than before or after it.

Patriotic War

Everybody realized that we were saddled with a great patriotic war, none of our choosing.

There was indubitable evidence that the Pakistani aggressors had planned months in advance, and the military design of Pakistan was unfolding itself from day to day.

During the last eighteen years India had consistently and continuously worked for world peace. But since there was no alternative to fighting with Pakistan, it found the nation ready to make supreme sacrifices.

"Our great leader Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru". said Mr. Nanda," strove and struggled for world peace, and peaceful co-existence. We stand by that and are unhappy to find ourselves placed in this grim situation as a result of aggression by Pakistan."

Tributes to our Soldiers

Mr. Nanda paid a glowing tribute to the army and air force for the marvellous job they had done.

"The exploits of our jawans", he said, "will shine in the annals of India for generations to come."

He asked the business community to co-operate with the Government in preventing the exploitation of the consumer. It was their duty to maintain the price level.

He also asked the people to give no credence to rumours and protect the armed forces by keeping any secrets if they happened to know them.

Future's Full Firm Faith

Reflecting the confident mood of the nation, in meeting the Pakistani challenge, Mr. Nanda declared:

"The Nation will stand its Ground
And Overcome the threat.
In that Process this country shall
Emerge with Increased Strength
And Greater Maturity"

———

Chapter Eight

WE WILL FIGHT

We don't want to fight,
But by Jingo if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men,
We've got the money too.
We've fought the Bear before,
And while we are Britons true,
The Russian shall not have
Constantinople !

—Julia Ward Howe

If Russians could not have Constantinople from the British, then it was an idle dream of Ayub to imagine that a march on Delhi will be like an easy stroll !

The Patriot expressed the mood of the nation when it wrote an editorial on "We Will Fight" in its issue dated September 7, 1965 :—

For eighteen years the people of this country patiently bore insults to their honour and aggression against their territory with patience.

They hoped against hopes that the rulers of Pakistan would one day realize that it is better for such close neighbours to live as friends rather than as enemies.

Swaggering Impertinence !

It was not always easy to shut one eyes to Pakistan's swaggering impertinence and the endless conspiracies its Government inspired.

When China stabbed us in the back and Pakistan gleefully handed over part of our territory in Kashmir, we could have regarded it as an act of calculated bad faith requiring chastisement,

An Act of War !

When month after month, agreements entered into in the expectation that the tension between the two countries would be lessened, were contemptuously flouted, we could have taken measures to prevent such acts in future.

When large-scale firing across the frontier was resorted to by Pakistan without any provocation from our side, we could have regarded it as an act of war.

Captains of Destiny

We did not do any of these things because we are a peace-loving people and our great leaders believed in and taught us that wars never solve problems.

We did not, like Pakistan, start our life as an independent nation with a hate-object round which the entire political thinking of the people was organized.

We believed sincerely that in course of time the traditions of communal hatred that British imperialists had left behind them in this sub-continent of nearly 600 million people would exhaust themselves and that we would be able to co-operate with the people and Government of Pakistan in joint economic progress. But all such hopes were proved to be totally groundless.

The little men who took control of the destinies of the people of Pakistan came to the conclusion that they could keep power only on the basis of hatred of this country.

Hate-Oriented Government

The Great Powers of the world have given, and are still giving us, advice which we did not require.

If this country finds itself in such a situation that it must fight, it is because for eighteen years the Great Powers shut their eyes to the truth that Pakistan's is a hate-oriented Government which can live only as long as it prepares for war against India or conspires against its people.

Fight for Principles

We have done nothing clandestinely.

Our diplomacy has always been halting when it came to making friends for military reasons.

This has led many Governments and people to believe that we are a weak people, incapable of defending ourselves.

We, 460 million Indians have decided that this impression should change.

We will fight for our principles, for every inch of our territory, and for the great traditions that make us a nation.

We will fight till victory is ours !

Chapter Nine

PAKISTAN'S ARMED STRENGTH

What millions died——that Caesar might be great !
—*Campbell*

What millions may die that Ayub might be great ! For eighteen years Pakistan has been begging, buying and borrowing weapons from all over the world for the big tamasha in the Indian sub-continent.

That hour at last had come !

Total Pak Forces

According to the Institute of Strategic Studies, London, the total armed forces of Pakistan numbered 253,000 at the end of October 1964.

A year later, on the eve of calculated war with India, Pakistan's forces might well have been double. They could not have been less than one and a half times.

The institute's publication "The Military Balance, 1964-65" gives the following figures about Pakistan :

Army

Strength : 230,000.

Eight divisions organized on a triangular basis and equipped with M-47 tanks.

25,000 lightly armed militia.
30,000 Azad Kashmir troops.

Navy

Total strength : 7,700.
One light cruiser. (Cadet training ship.)
Five destroyers.
Two ASW freights.
Eight mine-sweepers.
10 other ships.

Air Force

Total strength : 17,000—25,000.
200 aircraft which include :
30 B-57 Canberras in two Squadrons.
One F-104 A Starfighter Squadron.
(A second is to be formed)
Four F-86 F Sabre Squadron.
RT-33A's are used for tactical reconnaissance.
The transport force includes 4 C-130 B Hercules.

Comparative Strength

Mr. Maharaj K. Chopra, Military Correspondent, has given the following figures of air forces of Pakistan and India :—

Pakistan

2 Bomber Squadrons. (Canberra)
10 Fighter Bomber Squadrons :
1 Starfighters.
4 Sabre.
3-4 Transport Squadrons.
Plus miscellaneous planes.

One good squadron has 18 aircraft plus 8 in reserve. Generally squadrons are not that good.

India

4 Bomber squadrons.
10 Fighter Bomber Squadrons
Hunters and several others. (Ouragon and Vampires)
8 Interceptor Squadrons (Mystere and Gnats)
10-15 Transport squadrons
C-47
C-119
Antonov
Viscounts.
Plus miscellaneous planes.

Strength, Speed, Ability

"In popular imagination". says M. K. Chopra, "air power is essentially a matter of the numerical strength, speed and bombing ability of the aircraft. This is true, of course. In the Indo-Pakistan conflict, the numerical strength and performance of the planes are important but there are other aspects of the matter also and certain prerequisites which should not be ignored.

Pilots come First

"First and foremost, there have to be pilots. You can have as many aircraft as you please but without the pilots who can fly and who can fight : such aircraft are useless. It takes five or six years to train a pilot at a cost of no less than Rs. 2 lakhs; so he is rather a rare type. Except for a few years in the beginning Indian pilots have been mostly trained in our own academies which are good. In some cases, like the training for MiG's, courses have been arranged abroad. Most of the Pakistani pilots have been trained abroad."

War-Winning Weapon

An air force should have at least four kinds of aircraft—bombers, fighters, transport and reconnaissance planes.

"In the absence of any of these types and without a balance of all four, an air force may become as ineffective as a human being without principal limbs."

Among these four types, the bomber is the real hitting and war-winning weapon. Others are merely for support or defence.

Airfields

Suitable airfields are highly important in modern warfare. Heavy planes need runways of special resistance and length. Strategic localities are selected for this purpose.

"It is an axiom of war that you must protect your own airfields and capture or destroy those of the enemy."

Vulnerability

The whole of Pakistan, the Western as well as the Eastern wings, is vulnerable to Indian attacks.

In India, certain places are not vulnerable to Pakistani attacks, such as Central UP, Central India, and the South, a 100 miles down from Bombay. The rest of India is vulnerable.

Chapter Ten

INVASION OF LAHORE

Better pointed bullets than ponted speeches.

—*Bismarck*

The Indian Army reacted like an infuriated lion to Pakistan's rocketting of Amritsar airport. Overnight it attacked Lahore with such cool courage that the people of Pakistan recited Koran and President Ayub prayed to God for the safety of his dictatorship in Pakistan.

The Indian Army could and should have captured Lahore; but they were not prepared to shoulder civil responsibilities for the maintenance of huge population which would have frittered their energies without adding to their tactical advantages. Their purpose was to bypass Lahore and march forward to Rawalpindi.

But Pakistan had its own surprises. In the first mad rush they could have overtaken Lahore ; but as the Pakistani forces recovered from the shock of the presence of the Indian soldiers in their midst, the Indian Army found wisdom in entrenching themselves on the banks of the Ichhogil Canal which ironically enough was built by Pakistani Government with Indian money received under the Indus Waters Treaty ; but it was so heavily fortified that its true function was to defend Lahore against the invasion of Indian forces !

The Three Thrusts

There were three thrusts in the Punjab sector, spearheaded by the columns moving roughly from Ferozepur, Amritsar

and Gurdaspur.

As the "Observer" wrote in the *Hindustan Times* ; "It is obvious that the military objective is not to capture or over-run Lahore (which with its considerable civilian population would constitute an embarrassment and an incubus, a millstone hung round one's neck) but to draw, contain or hold the massive Pakistani defensive and counter-offensive forces thrown into the battle in order to ease pressure on other fronts and perhaps to achieve a breakthrough in a vital sector which might even enable us to encircle or drive a wedge between the enemy forces at some point."

Fierce Battle

Lahore sector was the scene of the fiercest battle in the whole war. It was a prestige point and here Pakistan Army flung their crack and most seasoned units to save Lahore and push the Indian forces out of the soil of Pakistan.

It became a great battle of strength both for Indian and Pakistani forces.

As the *Hindustan Times* wrote : "The main central column from Amritsar is however in the environs of Lahore engaged in a fierce battle of containment."

It further said : "Our military strategy and tactics are conditioned by two objectives—to concentrate on attacking and dispersing Pakistan's troop concentrations and on disrupting her communications at vital points."

Chapter Eleven

THE INDIAN STRATEGY OF WAR

> The wonderful results which followed Marlborough's march to the Danube have led historians and biographers to hail the idea as if it were in itself an inspiration of genius. In fact, however, it was only one of the more daring moves upon the board which must have been present in the minds of all the chief authorities carrying on the war, and the only questions open about it were : Was it the best ? and could it be done ? But these were the riddles of the Sphinx.
>
> —*Winston S. Churchill*

India was plunged into a war which was none of its choice. But it had to be fought on all fronts. And fought with vigour. The aim and object was not the conquest of Paksstan. But to plug the cracks in the embankment through which the flood of Pakistani men and machines was likely to inundate our hamlets, homes, houses, hearths, huts and hearts !

No Small Task

This was no small task which our Army had to accomplish with minimum men, weapons and air force, because the bulk of our armed forces could not neglect the greater flooding of human waves from China across the hump of the Himalayas ! It must be admitted that our Armed Forces accomplished a magnificent job which astonished the whole world.

"To run to extinguish the fire everywhere at once is impossible", wrote Churchill in the strategy of war at *Blenheim*, but

this is what our Armed Forces were called upon to do. They were conscious of the courage of Pakistani soldiers and their ultre-modern American weapons which our soldiers did not possess and our country could not afford.

Political Embroidery

The politics of Pakistan made a strange embroidery on half-friendships in both the ideological camps with a determined ambition to capture Kashmir by hook or by crook, with Red China posing a permanent problem of walking down the Himalayas to New Delhi and meet Pakistan strolling in a Patton tank from Rawalpindi. It was only the fear of active United Nations intervention which made the Grand Alliance quiver in its vast anti-like organization from Rawalpindi to Peking.

Fear of Second Front

But it was not only that. India of 1965 was not the India of 1962. Our Armed Forces were strong enough to fight on both the fronts. The War Lords of Peking realized that India was not spreading a carpet of welcome to the Chinese hordes. So they rather tried to satisfy their sanguinary lust with the blood of two hundred goats which Indian soldiers were accused of lifting from Tibet, which were duly "posted" by the citizens of Delhi to Peking through the Chinese Embassy with the slogan : "Eat These goats ! and save the world !"

Nothing to Chance !

"None of these matters", as Churchill wrote about Marlborough's strategy against Napoleon, "could be left vaguely to chance, and, as we shall see from the mavellous smoothness with which everything was executed, all must have been foreseen and prepared."

"Moreover", he says further, "in our human state there is no separation between public deeds and personal psychology, and the story of the one would be incomplete without the other."

National Psychology

The Indian generals and soldiers could not ignore the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru and

Mr. Shastri himself, who never wanted a war with Pakistan, let alone its conquest and subjugation. So the conquest of Lahore or any other city was not planned and never desired. The object was only to draw the Pakistani forces to certain points and destroy them. With the peace-loving people of Pakistan, India never had a quarrel. Unlike the Pakistani soldiers, Indian Army did not indulge in wanton and indiscriminate bombing and killing. In fact, our soldiers helped the people of the areas they captured.

Two Lobes of one Brain !

"No one can comprehend the movements leading up to the battle of Blenheim unless he realizes that Eugene and Marlbrough were working like two lobes of the same brain."

Although India and Pakistan are twin sisters, we regret that Pakistan did not work as a lobe of the same brain and save the civilians in India !

————

Chapter Twelve

THEATRES OF WAR

Modern warfare is an intricate business about which no one knows everything and few know very much—*Frank Knox.*

Every day brought new news. People read the newspapers with great zest. The dailies issued special sheets which were quickly bought and avidly read. War created a thrill, a new interest in the whole country.

What is happening now?

The commonest question on everybody's lips was "What is happening now ?"

A New Delhi replied this question as follows :

"What is happening now? One encounters every day, if not every hour, the bewilderment which encompasses the ordinary citizen, most of all the young whose faith and patriotism is a live, vibrant thing and who want to know what is truly happening, irrespective of whether it excites elation or induces depression......

Electric Effect ! "We are doing satisfactorily, indeed more than satisfactorily than the superiority which Pakistan enjoys in armour and equipment, on land and in the air, entitled us to expect. With her submarine (which both the United States and Britain denied us) this advantage could in certain circumstances extend to the seas. Taking these accounts and factors into consideration, we have not done badly, and the performance of our land forces and of the men who guard the skies above us has been electric in its impact. Our navy has still to prove itself."

Long term perspective

"War", wrote *Hindustan Times*, "while it influences public opinion on a day-to-day basis, must be judged in a long-term planning. Militarily, this spells the difference between tactics and strategy. What happens today may seem very important, but more important is what happens in the succession of tomorrows. This is where Hitler went wrong and where Churchill was right.

A limited war

"In a limited war, such as is now raging between India and Pakistan, today is as important as tomorrow. This is true but just as distance lends enchantment to the view, perspective brings a sense of proportion. To be unduly elated or excessively depressed is not a good thing for the balance of public morale, very high and resolute in our country and prepared for reverses, however temporary or long-drawn, as for heart-lifting successes. India's people can take both. One wishes that those responsible for projecting the Government's public voice were equally sensitive to the private core of strength which sustains our people."

Six Fronts

Along the 470-mile cease-fire line now lost, enmeshed in and criss-crossed by the international frontier lines. India and Pakistan were engaged on roughly some six fronts;—

1. **Hyderabad Sector**—It spread across the Barmer border of Rajasthan to Punjab.

2. **The Punjab Sector**—In the Punjab there were three thrusts, spearheaded by columns moving roughly from Amritsar, Ferozepore and Gurdaspur.

3. **The Sialkot Sector**—Battle raged from along the swing from the southernmost point of Kashmir towards Sialkot.

4. **Chammb Sector**—This was Pakistan's strongest sector where they were trying to cut off India from Jummu & Kashmir.

5, **Poonch Sector**—Battle raged in the Uri-Poonch bulge.

6. **Tithwal Sector**—Tithwal constituted the sixth potentially live sector with Kargil comparatively quiescent.

Chapter Thirteen

MOST DECISIVE SECTOR

O God ! assist our side: at least, avoid assisting the enemy, and leave the rest to me.
—*Prince Leopold*

The most decisive battle was being fought not in the Lahore Sector but in the Sialkot Sector !

The thrust in the Sialkot Sector had an immediate effect in lightening if not lifting the Pakistani offensive on Chhamb.

The diversion towards Hyderabad could similarly neutralize any contemplated enemy offensive in Kutch.

Sialkot and Ferozepore

Additionally, our activity in the Sialkot Sector could ease the enemy's pressure on our columns which initially moved from Ferozepur.

This column as also the column which moved from Gurdaspur met with striff resistance. The latter column was virtually immobilized by the destruction of the Guru Nanak Bridge, while Ferozepore column had run into heavy fighting around Kasur.

Main Central Column

The main central column from Amritsar was in the environs of Lahore. It was engaged in a fierce battle of containment.

The sector to watch was not Lahore but Sialkot.

Indian Air Force

The daily toll taken by our boys of the Indian Air Force

was truly superb and even spectacular. They were fighting against tremendous odds, because the Pakistani counterparts were equipped with superior planes, mobility and fire power. It was the battle of Moths against Hawks. The surprise was that the Moths won!

But the impact our boys made on the enemy inevitably took a heavy toll on our side in old machines and young lives.

Military Objective

Our military strategy and tactics were conditioned by two objectives to concentrate on attacking and dispersing Pakistan's troop concentrations and on disrupting her communications at vital points.

The whole front was roaring with fire and conflict. From one end of the border of Pakistan to the end of its western wing every Indian and Pakistani soldier was at grips.

It was a very dramatic duel with tanks and planes thrown into the scuffle. Both Pakistan and India were struggling for quick decisive results because time was extremely limited before the United Nations jumped in the fray, China entered the war, or Pakistan ran out of ammunition and petrol.

There was no time to be lost. It was like a cricket match to be won, lost or drawn, within a couple of days.

Chapter Fourteen

THE GRAVEYARD OF PATTON TANKS

> They were about to be attacked ! There was no time to retire, even if they wished to do so, without abandoning their camp and battle. They must now prepare to fight for life and honour. This sudden revolution of ideas had an effect not only upon the commanders, but upon their troops. It was a moral surprise.
>
> —*Churchill*

The Indian troops fought a most heroic battle of all the war in the Jummu-Sialkot sector on September 16, 1965.

Thereafter the Pakistani troops lost their heart and initiative on all the fronts of the war.

The manner in which the enemy troops were losing their heavy armour to Indian troops, their indiscriminate off-target bombings and exaggerated claims of their performance spoke of an army in front.

Most Memorable

The most memorable tank battle with the enemy was fought by Indian forces on Sunday while making a flanking thrust towards Sialkot.

An Indian Rommel

"An Indian Rommel", wrote *Times of India* in the special

evening issue, "has emerged on the scene, leading Indian tanks from victory to victory. Commanding a relatively small tank unit, he gave bitter battle to the enemy somewhere in this sector."

The enemy entered 90 tanks, consisting of Pattons and Chaffees, all American-gifted.

With air support the Indian side captured or smashed to smithereens 52 of them.

Indian forces took a toll of 11 Pakistani tanks on Tuesday. With seven others destroyed in minor engagements. the total in three days rose to 70.

The enemy could not destroy more than six Indian tanks. The Indian gains were made mostly in tank-to-tank engagement.

This is a unique record for any army since World War II.

Superior Tactics

The Indian forces combined a high degree of training and individual courage with superior tactics to deliver a deadly blow to the enemy.

The battlefield looked like a graveyard of Pakistani tanks. Their remains were scattered over a wide area of maize fields.

Tanks versus Planes

A Pakistani helicopter carrying three officers was also brought down by tank fire. One died inside the helicopter and others fled.

Ground forces advancing near Sialkot brought down five Sabre jets.

Indian tanks fired at the retreating enemy a few thousand yards away.

Chapter Fifteen

WAR WITHOUT VENGEANCE

There never was a good war or a bad peace.

—*Franklin*

(The following poem was written by the author during the most critical days of Indo-Pakistan War)

'Tis war of Wrong against Right.
    Of Virtue against Vice,
Of Darkness against Light,
    Of Divinity which is nice,
    And Dictatorship in a trice
That must like madness fight !

Fight on ! Fight on !

Fight on! Fight on ! thou heroes !
    Fight for Truth and Fairplay ;
Convert dictators to zeroes
    And win a democratic day,
Ours is a virtuous offence,
A war without vengeance.

Thank God! now we can walk
    With heads and hearts high;
Thank God ! now we can talk
    And laud our Army to the sky !
Our soldiers and airmen
Lift us from a moral fen.

Our Soldiers True

Who could believe us do
All that our men have done.
As loyal sons and soldiers true
Beneath the bloodshot sun ?
They saw in village and town
That nation must be up, not down.

We have sacrificed our brothers,
Our husbands and our sons,
For the benefit of others,
Jumping in the mouth of guns ;
For flower of the nations dies,
When cause for honour cries.

Honour the Dead !

We worship those who die,
We honour those who fight,
We pity those who cry
For the dead soldiers' light,
Sacrificing their love and life
In this Humanity's strife.

Of thou Indian Warriors !
O thou soldiers of peace !
Let us destroy all barriers
And heads of those who tease
Our Motherland with tricks and tears,
Not for days and months but years,
With booming guns and jeers.

New Delhi Knows no Hate

New Delhi knows no hate,
New Delhi seeks no war
Against the people great
Beyond our geograghical bar,
But we can't tolerate
When marauders our nation mar.

India must fight
When war has to be waged ;
But in democracy's light,
We can't afford to be enraged :
How can we here sit tight,
When Kashmir is caged
By tricky traitors
And infidel infiltrators ?

O Thou Lovely Lahore !

O thou Lovely Lahore !
Bask in the peaceful sunshine !
Let us learn to fight no more ;
And let prosperity be thine.
As it should be mine,
From mountain-top to shore.

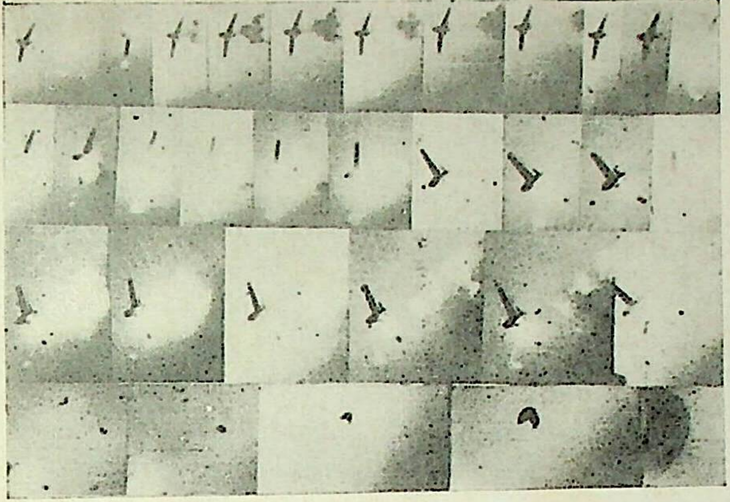
Dictator Ayub's *hallagulla*
Must end in Kashmir;
Let Karachi make *halwa*
And eat with *khir* :
Only against her friends,
· She should make ample amends.

World's Victory

Victory of Hindustan
Is victory of the world;
If wins Pakistan
Democracy wil be hurled
And Humanity imperilled
By foul fanatical Satan.

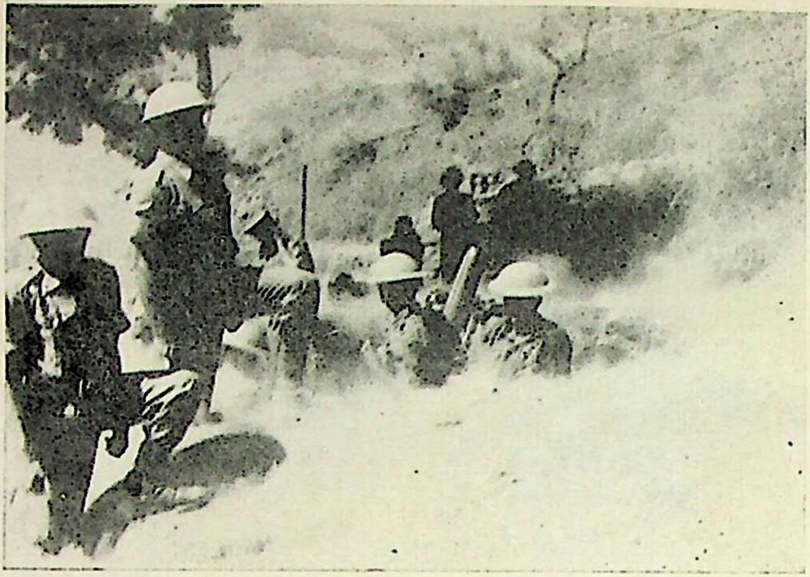
It is the war of Right against Wrong,
Which is savage and uncivil :
A crusade of Democracy which is strong,
Because it is a people's song
Against Theocracy which is evil.

———

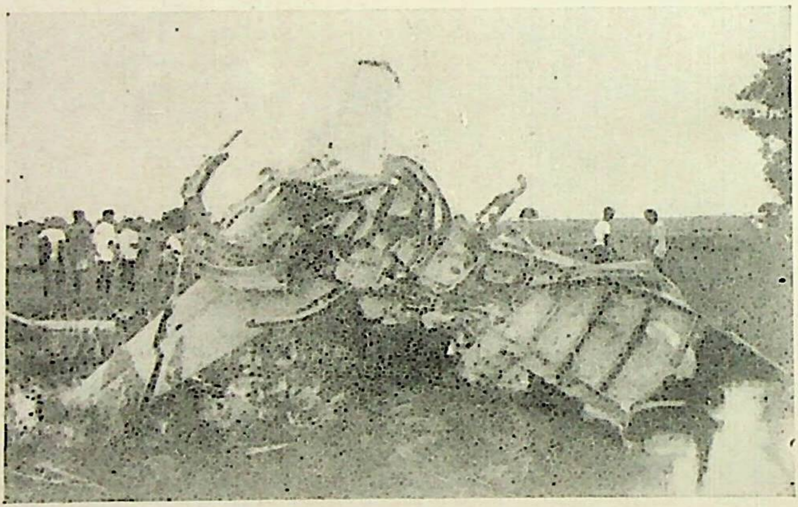


The subsequent frames show the Sabre's fuel tanks igniting, leaving a flaming trail and the Pakistani aircraft disintegrating (third row, second frame from right) ; huge pieces fly off (last row) and the Sabre starts falling out of Neb's gunsight. He nearly flies through the Sabre's debris (last row, second frame from right) whilst the aircraft appears as a glowing ball at the bottom left edge of the frames.

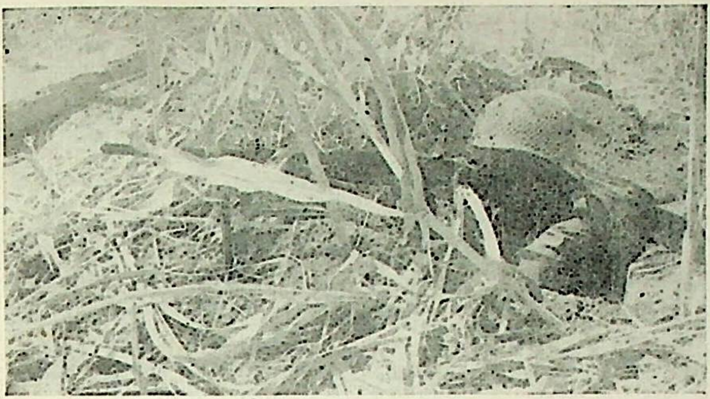




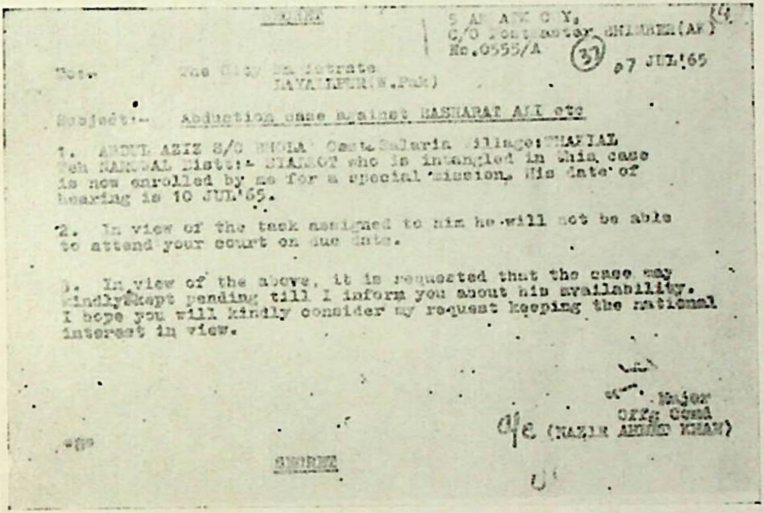
Indian mortars pounding Pakistani positions to silence their guns during operations in the Uri-Poonch bulge.



The wreckage of a Pakistani F-86 Sabre jet after it was shot down by IAF fighters and it exploded in mid air and crashed in a nearby field in Kalaikunda, on September 7.



An Indian Jawan takes aim.



SECRET

[illegible] Y,
C/O Postmaster [illegible] (AK)
No.0555/A
07 JUL 65

To:- The City Magistrate
LAYALLPUR (W.Pak)

Subject:- Abduction case against BASHARAT ALI etc

1. ABDUL AZIZ S/O [illegible] Caste Jalaria Village: THAPIAL Teh NAROWAL Distt:- SIALKOT who is intangled in this case is now enrolled by me for a special mission. His date of hearing is 10 JUL 65.

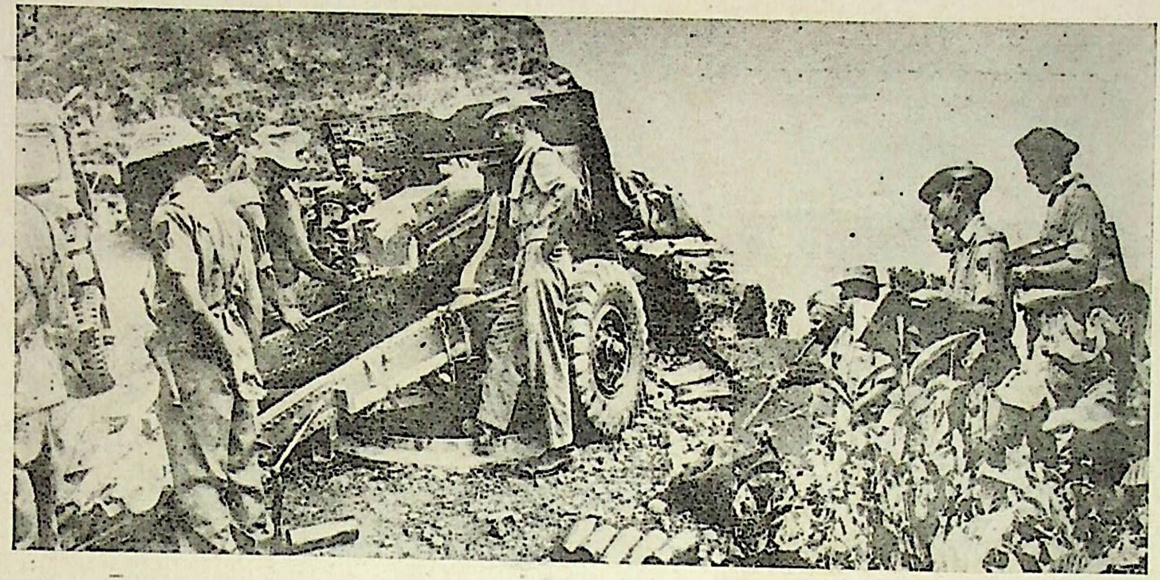
2. In view of the task assigned to him he will not be able to attend your court on due date.

3. In view of the above, it is requested that the case may kindly kept pending till I inform you about his availability. I hope you will kindly consider my request keeping the national interest in view.

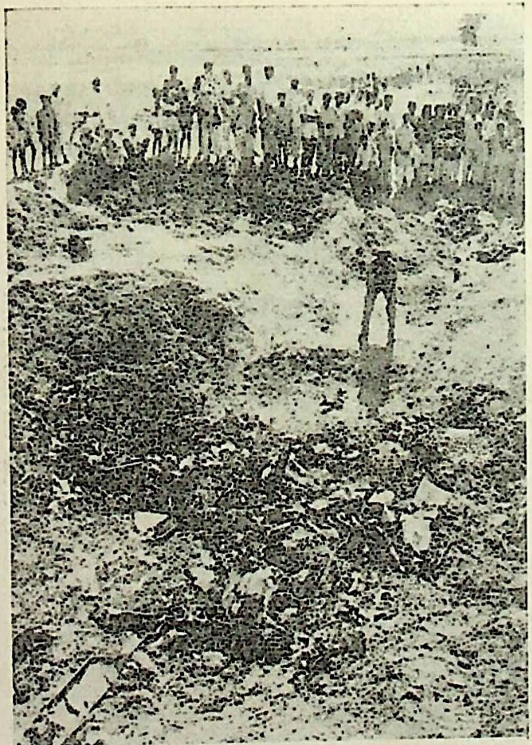
Major
Offg Comd
(NAZIR AHMED KHAN)

SECRET

This photo is a copy of a letter dated July 7, 1965 from Major Nazir Ahmad Khan, commanding the Nazir Force, to the City Magistrate of Lyallpur (West Pakistan) requesting the latter to postpone, in view of national interest, the criminal case against Mr. Abdul Aziz of Narowal District till the army officer gave the intimation of the availability of the accused.

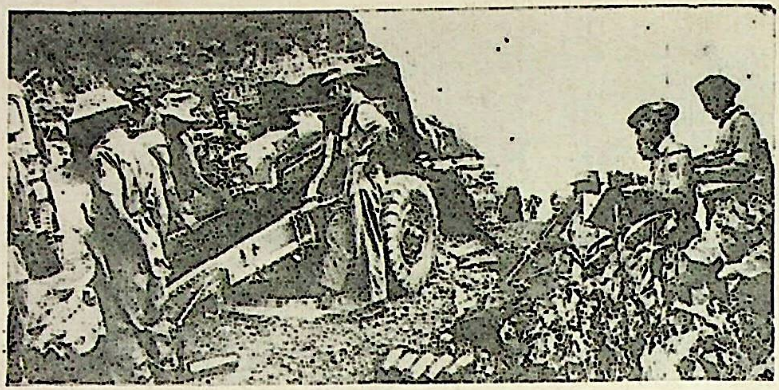


The composite photograph shows an Indian field gun (left) being positioned a top the Bedori post in the Uri-Poonch bulge captured by the Indian Army. Bedori is over 12,300 feet high and is the highest post in the Uri-Poonch bulge. The dicture on the right shows some officers reconnaitring the sector.

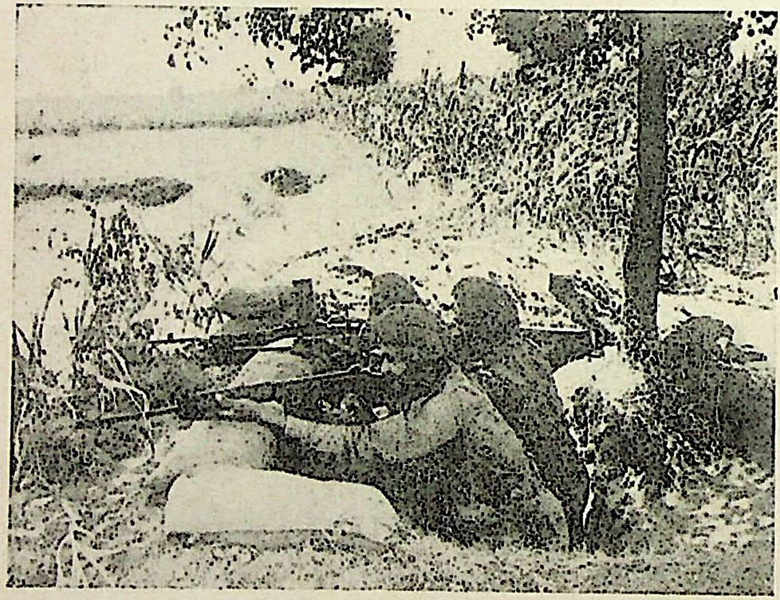


Wreckage of a Pakistani jet near a town
in the Punjab.

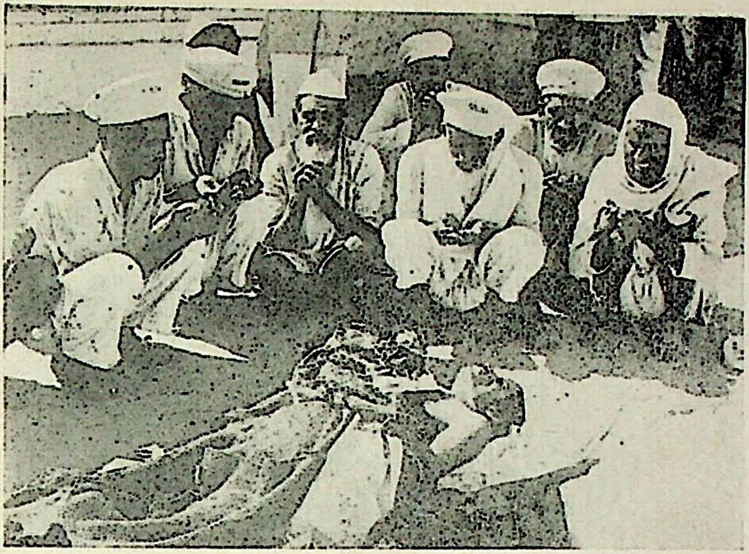




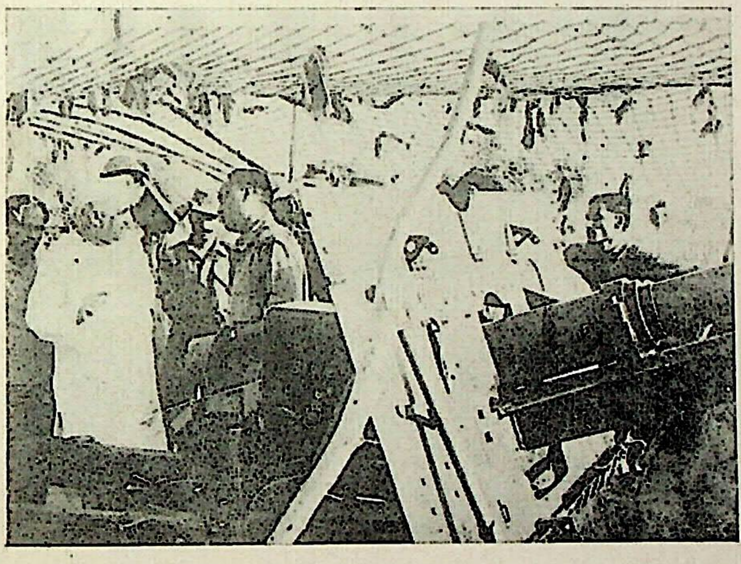
The composite photograph shows an Indian field gun (left) being positioned atop the Bedori post in the Uri-Poonch bulge. Bedori is over 12,300 feet high and is the highest post in the Uri-poonch bulge. The picture shows some officers reconnitring the sector.



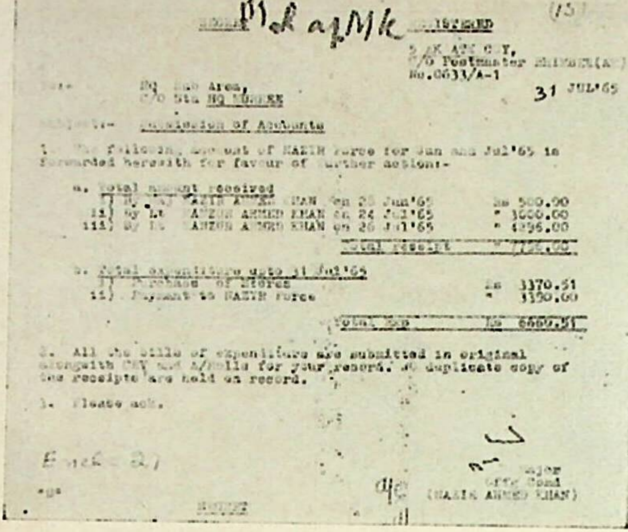
Guard on the Front



Pakistan Bombs Jodhpur Jail Hospital
Pakistan Air Force bombed the Jail Hospital of Jodhpur on September 22, 1965 with 1000 lb. high explosive bombs. Photo shows fellow prisoners of all communities mourning the death of a patient prisoner.



Lala Jagat Narain M.P., in the forward areas in Ferozepur sector.



[illegible] REGISTERED

[illegible] C/O Postmaster [illegible]
No.0633/A-1

31 JUL'65

To:- HQ [illegible] Area,
C/O Stn HQ [illegible]

Subject:- [illegible] of Accounts

1. The following [illegible] of NAZIR Force for Jun and Jul'65 is forwarded herewith for favour of further action:-

a. Total amount received

i)	By [illegible] NAZIR [illegible] KHAN on 2[illegible] Jun'65	Rs 500.00
ii)	By Lt [illegible] AHMED KHAN on 24 Jul'65	" 3000.00
iii)	By Lt [illegible] KHAN on 26 Jul'65	" [illegible]296.00
	Total receipt	" [illegible]

b. Total expenditure upto 31 Jul'65

i)	Purchase of Stores	Rs 3370.51
ii)	Payment to NAZIR Force	" 3390.00
	Total Exp	Rs 6660.51

2. All the bills of expenditure are submitted in original alongwith [illegible] for your record. [illegible] duplicate copy of the receipts are held on record.

3. Please ack.

Major
Offg Comd
(NAZIR AHMED KHAN)

This photo is a copy of a letter dated July 31, 1965, from Major Nazir Ahmed Khan, to the Headquarters furnishing accounts for the months of June and July, 1965, which shows that for these two monthsthe Nazir Force was paid Rs. 3390/-



Jawans of the Security Forces refreshing themselves with tea and biscuits offered free of charge at a Security Forces Welfare Canteen in Shrinagar.

Chapter Sixteen

PUNJAB COCKPIT

> Few persons have sufficient wisdom to prefer censure which is useful for them, to praise, which deceives them.
>
> —*La Rochefoucauld*

The Punjab has always been the cockpit of India. All foreign invaders through the Khyber Pass fought decisive battles here. Thrice the destiny of India was decided on the plains of Panipat !

Not the storied regions round Delhi but the Punjab has been accustomed to the clash of arms.

"Until Mohenjodaro was discovered", wrote *The Sunday Standard* (September 12, 1965), "it was thought that the dawn of Indian history broke over the Punjab. Though it is now clear that an anterior (and mainly urban) civilization flourished over a wide area ranging from Sind to Rajasthan and from Punjab to Gujerat, particular interest attaches to the Aryans in the land of the Five Rivers. The sacred books of the Hindus show that it was a beautiful country on which nature had poured its riches."

Scene of Stirring Deeds

Long before Pakistan brought us to display its fireworks, the Punjab has been a scene of stirring deeds.

The Battle of Hydaspes was won less by Alexander the Great than by Porus, who redeemed his sublime defeat by the sublimer uprightness of his answer to Alexander.

We never came to a plight in which Shastri should give that answer to Ayub ; but Ayub wanted to play Alexander to India and come to New Delhi on an easy stroll.

"Ayub said", spoke Prime Minister Shastri from All-India Radio, "march to Delhi will be an easy stroll for his army, what if we reached Lahore on an easy evening stroll !"

Advantages of Pakistan

The British press enlogized the advantages of Pakistan over the disadvantages of India.

Pakistan, said many commentators, had the unique advantage of having a Soldier-President in whom all authority resided, whereas India had a Prime Minister who must satisfy his party, Parliament and the various units in the federation. In other words, these commentators were saying that military dictatorship was superior to democracy—just the opposite of what they were saying about Nazi Germany or now say about Communist countries !

Pakistani Army

The Pakistani army, according to British comments, was homogenous, being not only Muslim but largely Punjabi Muslim, while India was a mixture of various ethnic and language groups from the Sikh to the Maratha and the Tamil.

Pakistani Armament

The Pakistani armament, it was pointed out, was also uniform and superior being all American, while India had a mixed bag of French and British tanks and aircraft, both inferior to what Pakistan possessed.

The only Indian Advantage

The only Indian advantage that the foreign commentators could see was larger resources and manpower of India's armed forces, but here too this was cancelled by the fact that India had to disperse troops to guard the North-East and the Ladakh frontiers against China, whereas Pakistan could concentrate her might in West Pakistan.

Chapter Seventeen

A SHOCK TO THE WHOLE WORLD

A schoolboy's tale, the wonder of an hour !
—*Byron*

India's downing, defeating and disgracing of Pakistani armies and armaments completely took the world aback and astonished and amazed it ! The foreign military experts and political commentators stood with fingers in their mouths, dumbfounded!

Nature of a Revelation

"Except for those here who live in an unchanging world of preconceived and predigested ideas", wrote V. R. Bhat, from London," the ten days' undeclared war by Pakistan on India has been in the nature of a revelation. This has been not only in the military sense but also in the political and the larger international scene.

"The turning of the tide on the battlefront in India's favour is producing a transformation of attitudes which will become more evident later when the fighting stops."

Watchers of a Blood Sport

The Special Correspondent of the Hindustan Times further wrote from London :—

"a war, though inevitably and anxiously sought to be ended, is nevertheless an exciting event, particularly for the neutral observer. Some of the reporting and the public attitude to it has been of the watcher of a blood sport with the difference that most of the vocal British at first backed and took the side of their favourite from British days in India.

"Pakistan represented for many not so much the reaction to modern trends of theocracy and dictatorship but the opposition

to the national forces on the subcontinent which had finally wrested power from the British."

White Pakistan, Black India

The British reader had already calculated the odds in favour of the martial homogenous dictator-ruled Pakistan. So he set up to watch the fun of Indians running hurry-scurry before the Patton tanks.

The first reports were predictable. The Pakistani spokesmen were quoted in extenso. The brave Pakistani soldiers were marching against the retresating Indians ! These were copybook tactics of war.

"Reports from Delhi also quoted Indian spokesmen but were interspersed with critical and analytical comments. The picture presented was thus all white from Pakistan and coloured from India.

No one in London and Washington paused to know that Indian press was free while reports from Pakistan were muzzled by strict military and political censorship !

Turning of the Tide

The tide of foreign reporting changed with the turn of the tide on the battle-front after the smashing of the Pakistan's First Armoured Division on the Lahore front.

The persistent fact could not be ignored even by the most sanguine, hardened and petrified disbeliever of the presence of Indian Army on Pakistani soil.

Tardy admission began to be made that the superior Pakistani armour had been worsted by the Indians with all their disadvantages !

Stultified !

The Times Delhi correspondent, more honest than others, wrote that he like all these who had believed about Pakistan's superiority had been "stultified" !

Still there had been little generosity in recognising the courage and the quality of India's defenders !

Chapter Eighteen

THE BRITISH DEMOCRATS BACK THE DICTATOR

> It would be folly to argue that the people cannot make political mistakes. They can and do make grave mistakes. They know it, they pay the penalty, but compared with the mistakes which have been made by every kind of autocracy, they are unimportant.
>
> —*Calvin Coolidge*

The greatest shock came to the Indian people when they discovered that the British people, with few exceptions, were not cheering the Greatest Democracy of the World but backing the black horse of dictatorship in Pakistan !

The British Leopard

The United Kingdom ceased to be a lion and became a leopard in league with a pack of wolves !

"A leopard cannot change its spots," wrote Sitanshu Das from London. "Judging by the malignity and total lack of objectivity with which nearly all British media of information have sided with Pakistan over the present India-Pakistan fighting, one would think that anti-Indianism in Britain is as deep-seated as, for instance, its animus against Greek Cypriots. When it comes to the Indian sub-continent, Britain is like Peter Pan, the eternal juvenile trying to adapt modern facts to inherited myths and prejudices."

British Prime Minister

The British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Wilson, was the only Western Government leader to criticize India's retaliatory action against Pakistan.

The Chinese press apart, no other section of the world press has been as pro-Pakistan as the British media of information—the press, the pulpit, the radio, and TV !

But there were glorious exceptions, such as John Grigg, the former Lord Altrincham whose statement given before was gladly and gratefully appreciated by the Indian press and the public.

Most Virulent Protagonist

Pakistan's action was not considered blameworthy. On the contrary, India was held guilty of incorrigible obstinacy about Kashmir.

The Manchester Guardian emerged as the most virulent protagonist of Pakistan. Its news columns echoed the editorial line.

The Daily Mail and the Daily Express proved that their knowledge of India was still anchored to Kipling's juvenile verses.

The defence forces of India and Pakistan, to these newspapers, are still composed of the martial races whom the Rai loved so dearly.

Lahore is still Lahore of Kim's days—flat rooftops, muezzin's call to prayer, nightly romance and Pakistani colonels with Sandhurst accent.

Kipling, one learns, is the Laureate of the British Empire, who admired the Muslims and cared little for the Hindu".

Therefore, "One Pakistani is equal to three Indians". Or is it ten?

Chapter Nineteen

ATROCITY AT AMBALA

Man's inhumanity to man
Makes countless thousands mourn!

—*Burns*

Indiscriminate bombing was order of the day for Pakistani airmen. But two were most senseless and atrocious. One that they indulged in during daylight at Amritsar after the cease-fire was agreed to by Pakistan at U.N.O. and the merry crowds were celebrating it.

The other was the bombing of the Church and Military Hospital at Ambala.

Most Barbarous Act

In its most barbarous performance the Pakistan Air Force on September 18, 1965 resorted to heavy bombardment of the Military Hospital in Ambala Cantonment and a residential locality in Model Town in the small hours of the morning. Many bodies of patients were buried under the debris.

A major part of the enemy attack was centred on the Military Hospital where wounded jawans and officers were under treatment. The Pakistani aircraft dipping low dropped at least eight bombs on the hospital. Four hospital wards received direct hits. One of the four was an officers' ward. There were a large number of wounded jawans receiving treatment in these four wards. These were razed to the ground.

The whole area was littered with bricks, broken glass-panes, pieces of patients' cots, and surgical instruments. Telephone and electric poles in the whole area were twisted. Wires snapped.

St. Paul's Cathedral

St. Paul's Cathedral in Ambala Cantonment, which was razed in a Pakistani raid, was a monumental building, constructed in 1857.

Consecrating St. Paul's Church on January 4, 1857, the Rt. Rev. Dealtry, the then Bishop of Madras, had said:—

"This church is one of the most beautiful and complete churches in India and I hope that some day it will become a cathedral."

The century-old dream of the Bishop was fulfilled on April 14, 1953, when the Church was raised to the status of a Cathedral.

During the Indian uprising of 1857, the families of British troops stationed in Ambala were brought to the compound of the Church and an embankment was erected around the compound walls. For six months they stayed there. The church came to be called "Fort St. Paul."

The Rt. Rev. W. Anand, Bishop of Amritsar, told press correspondents that Pakistani bombing of St. Paul's Cathedral in Ambala had caused damage estimated at Rs. 50 lakhs.

With tears in his eyes, he said the loss was irreparable.

Miraculous Escape

A woman and her children, who were broken up by the flashlight focussed on their cots by the attacking plane, had a providential escape when they fell in a ditch while rnnning for safety.

Chapter Twenty

JETS, JAWANS, JAURIAN, JUMMU

People hate, as they love, unreasonably.
—*Thackeray*

Srinagar, being mainly Muslim, was generally spared by the Pakistani bombers, while Jummu, being predominantly Hindu, received their worst attention.

The Jummu remained dark and silent at night. And very few people moved about the streets. Darkness enclosed people in a shell of safety. But it offered no protection against Pakistani bombers. Jummu was hit both by day and night round the clock.

Booming Border

"Shortly after midnight on my first day here", wrote *Indian Express* correspondent, "the booming of our heavy guns on the border began echoing steadily. The big guns were about 15 miles away in the Chhamb Akhnoor front, pounding the enemy with an angry, death-dealing vengeance, while smaller guns were dealing with the possible infiltrators and Pakistani paratroopers, The people slept behind barricaded doors.

"At about midnight, I awoke up to a cracking thunder of anti-aircraft guns that surrounded the city. With staccato bursts the guns shot up tracer shells which lined the sky with multi-coloured lights, The floor of the room shook violently as I looked out at the tracer being fired and zeroing in at a spot where a Pakistani jet was suspected to be burning.

"Two hours later, at about 3 a. m. the anti-aircraft guns started out barking again but if it was an enemy air raid, it

certainly failed to inspire awe. The tracers give the people here a warm feeling of confidence that every one is ready and waiting to give the enemy jets a hot reception."

Jaurian Bombing

The Pakistani Sabre jets bombed Jaurian on September 3rd when Punjab Armed Police unit was combing out infiltrators.

The jawans and PAP men were settling down with their mugs of tea when jets came into view. Orders were quickly shouted as the first enemy rocket screamed down.

The orderly, Kanhaiyalal, gasping with pain and losing grip of life, handed back his rifle to the officer, saying: "Sir, I am going but take this rifle and teach them a lesson."

The jets circled the village, dropping their rockets on the huts of villagers and even upon the refugee camp hospital with clear Red Cross markings. The Pakistani jets hovered round for 35 minutes.

Jaurian Hero

Captain B. S. Sandhu suffered serious injuries in the fighting to recapture Jaurian on September 9th. He had three bullets embedded in his thigh and his face was also charred by the enemy shelling.

His father, Mr. Puran Singh Sandhu, Assistant Inspector-General of Railway Police, said to him: "Well, son, you have kept up the traditions of Punjabi warriors."

"Look", said the son, "there is no bullet on my back yet."

Chapter Twenty-one

AIR BATTLES

Though this may be play to you, 'Tis death to us.
—*Aesop*

Halwara air battle is a classical example of Pakistan's foolhardy adventurism for the conquest of India with the aid of sophisticated American weapons.

Four Pakistani F-86 Sabre planes were shot down by ground fire and Indian Air Force planes within ten minutes.

Twilight on the Horizon

Flt.-Lt. D. N. Rathore, with Flying Officer V. K. Neb as his number two, was detailed for an air-borne patrol over Halwara.

At about 6-40 in the evening, when the sun had gone down and the horizon was lit only with the twilight, Rathore, who was about three miles away from the airfield, caught a flash in the air in the vicinity of the airfield.

A second look confirmed that the base was under attack by Pakistani Sabres and a dog fight was in progress with another section of two Hunters, led by F/O Gandhi, who were also airborne on patrol duty.

Rathore, warning his number two Neb, immediately turned towards the airfield. In the first skirmish, however, one Sabre had been drowned by ground fire, and the second had fallen to the guns of F/O Gandhi.

The remaining two Sabres were strafing the airfield and bombing it from a very low level. Jockeying for position was

not difficult as the two Pakistani pilots were concentrating on their ground attack.

Getting behind the Sabre, which was on his right, Rathore closed in to 1,000 yards, at the same time asking his number two, Neb, to take on the Sabre on the left. Overtaking his victim fast, Rathore closed in to 650 yards before opening fire. He saw the hits registering on the Pakistani Sabre and itj abondoned its ground attack.

A Flash in the Air

Still closing in further, Rathore again fired from 500 yards. This time the Sabre was mortally hit. It started banking to the left, and then turned into the ground exploding in a huge sheet of flame some five or six miles away from the airfield.

In the meanwhile, Neb had closed in behind the second Pakistani Sabre which, like the first one, was intent on pouring front gunfire onto the airfield below.

Neb had not done any air-to-air firing before. At the time of this engagement, he was still under operational training. Anyhow, closing in on the Pakistani Sabre to about 400 yards he fired a burst. The Pakistani pilot at once abandoned his attack on the airfield and pulled up his aircraft sharply towards the sky.

Neb, unsure of his accuracy, because of lack of any practice, rapidly closed in to less than 100 yards and fired again on the sharply pulling up Sabre, which presented him a much better target this time. He saw pieces fly off the Sabre, as his cannon shells found their mark on the Sabre's left wing.

There was first a puff of smoke which rapidly turned into a sheet of flame as the last of the four Pakistani Sabres disintegrated in mid-air and fell to the ground.

It was thus an entire force of four Pakistani Sabres, which had come to attack Halwara, was destroyed by the Indian Air Force and anti-aircraft gunners, in a matter of less than 10 minutes.

Hunter's Day

September 8 will go down in the records of the I.A.F. as "the day of the Hunters". On that day, in a 30-minute sortie

over Pakistan, four planes vitally affected the course of a land battle.

The planes, all Hunters, blew up a goods train carrying vital supplies of ammunition and petrol for embattled Pakistani Pattons in the Khem Karan sector, reported PTI. The tanks had to withdraw from the fight with their fuel running low and only about 30 shells apiece, reeling under the heavy blows struck by Indian armour.

According to fuller reports available now, the four Hunters took off at 6 a.m. that day for a sweep over the Raiwind-Khem Karan sector. The composition of the formation was: Flt.-Lt. C. K. K. Menon (leader), Flt.-Lt. A. S. Kular (No. 2), Flt.-Lt. D. S. Nagi (No. 3) and Sqn.-Ldr. B. K. Bishnoi (No. 4).

Low Flight

As the aircraft flew very low, somewhere between 50 and 100 ft. above ground, they found a goods train which had just pulled into Raiwind railway station. Anti-aircraft fire met them as they passed over the station.

Flt.-Lt. Menon decided to attack the train. His positioning of the section was excellent. As they pulled up and rolled to the left in the attacking dive, the pilots faced the train broadside, and were evenly spaced out along the entire length of the target. Going in first through the mushrooming flak. Flt.-Lt. Menon shot his rockets when he was abont 500 ft. from the ground levelling out from the dive at a bare 100 ft.

He had aimed the wagons on the extreme left of the section and his No. 4 saw the rockets find their mark with the explosions lifting several wagons off the rails and setting fire to them.

Flt.-Lt. Kullar and Nagi took the wagons in the centre and Sq.-Ldr. Bishnoi the right end and as they levelled off from the dives the whole train was burning furiously. By the time they had gained height explosions were ripping the train apart, and the whole area was a mass of flame and smoke.

The complete destruction of a military goods train would have been a good day's work. But Flt.-Lt. Menon and Flt.-Lt. Kullar had some rockets left, and all four had their front guns carrying full loads and they decided to continue the sweep.

Attack on Tanks

Nearing Kasur, the section noticed a huge cloud of dust slightly to one side. Flying low in that direction they found large groups of Pakistani tanks and convoys on the move, Flt.-Lt. Menon and Flt.-Lt. Kullar picked out two groups of tanks for their targets. Anti-aircraft guns opened up as they shot up for attacking positions. Undeterred Flt.-Lt. Menon went into his dive and fired all his remaining rockets. He saw three tanks burst into flames. Flt.-Lt. Kullar followed him in the attack and also emptied his rocket racks.

While they were attacking the tanks, Flt.-Lt. Nagi and Sq.-Ldr. Bishnoi took on some armoured vehicles with their cannon. They made two passes each, saw a number of vehicles catch fire and blow up.

All this while all four aircraft were being subjected to very heavy fire from the ground. Not only were the regular ack-ack gun firings but also the anti-aircraft guns mounted on Pakistani tanks. Automatic weapons were also blazing away at the Hunters.

Flt.-Lt. Menon had not yet fired his front guns and so he turned his attention to two convoys of vehicles. He made a dive at each of them with his guns blazing and set fire to 30 vehicles.

Flt.-Lt. Kullar in the meantime went for another tank with his cannon and disabled it.

With all their ammunition expended the section turned back to base, again flying very low. As they reformed Flt.-Lt. Menon found that his fuel gauge was reading lower than it should have been. Later it was found that his port wing tank had been holed. Another bullet had damaged his air speed indicator.

Flt.-Lt. Kullar had been slightly more unlucky. A bullet had found his main fuel tank and punctured it, and it was touch and go whether he would be able to make it to base.

But all of them reached "home" safe. Flt.-Lt. Menon had to be shepherded in because of his unserviceable air speed indicator.

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Chapter Twenty-Two

THE ROLE OF INDIAN MUSLIMS

In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful,
Successful indeed are the believers,
Who are humble in their prayers,
And who shun vain conversation,
And who are payers of the humble-due,
And who guard their modesty.

—*Koran, Surah XXIII*-1—5

The Indian Muslims were true to Koran and Prophet Mohammad during the Indo-Pakistan conflict. They stood behind the country despite many provocations from across the border and the anti-Muslim elements inside the country.

The Indian Ayub

An Indian Ayub Khan in the Sialkot Sector on September 14,1965 knocked down a Pakistani American-made Chaffe tank in the pitched tank battle.

It was the biggest and the fiercest tank battle ever fought since World War II.

Unlike the Pakistani Field Marshal, the Indian namesake was a humble gunner in a tank.

With Ayub, who hailed from Rajasthan, were four other Muslims from U.P. in humbling the Pakistani tank and its crew.

They are Jamaluddin Kidwai, Abdul Hamid Khan, Mushtaq Hussain Khan and Safdar Ali.

Two of the Pakistani crew were killed. Three were captured prisoners when they jumped out and were trying to

make good their escape.

This is one of the most few incidents in which the Muslim soldiers stood by their motherland instead of serving the interests of the enemy.

Pindi Tried A Rift

The leaders of Pakistan and Pakistan Radio spared no pains to drive a wedge between the Muslims, Sikhs and Hindus; but it stands to the credit of all communities that they showed a sense of unity as never before since the independence of India.

On September 11, Acharya Vinoba Bhave blamed President Ayub Khan for spreading communal poison amongst the Hindus and Muslims by resorting to the name of Allah.

Referring to his recent broadcast, the Acharya said that President Ayub could not get blessings from any one.

The Acharya exhorted the Sarvodaya workers for maintenance of peace in the villages.

Indian Muslims Condemn Pindi

Meetings were held all over the country condemning Pakistan for its nefarious acts of violating peace of the sub-continent.

Here are some typical instances:

Lucknow

The Moradabad branch of the Jamait-ul-Ulamai Hind condemned the Pakistani aggression in Kashmir and pledged its whole-hearted support to the Government in whatever steps it was taking to combat the aggressive forces.

At a meeting, which was presided over by Mr. Shahzad Ali, the Jamait assured the Government of its unflinching cooperation to fight back the enemy.

Sikar

Nearly 5,000 Muslims of Sikar, at a public meeting after Friday's namaz at the Jumma Masjid, here unanimously adopted a resolution condemning Pakistan's attack on India and offered their services for the country's defence.

Bulandshahr

People of all communities and religions assembled yesterday in the collectorate committee room under the presidentship of Mr. S.S. Ahmad. D.M. and pledged to maintain national solidarity. The Managing Director of the District Cooperative Bank announced Rs. 5,000 per month as financial aid to defence works. Teachers of the Sharma Inter College have decided to donate their one days salary to the NDF.

Tribute to a Muslim

The Chief Minister, Mr. Mohan Lal Sukhadia announced cash awards for the eight army personnel who fought against 30 armed Mujahids at the Butowala police post in Jaisalmer district.

In the fighting, seven Mujahids were killed while a number of them were injured. On the Indian side one jawan was killed.

The Chief Minister told newsmen that the family of the killed jawan would be given his full pay as pension according to rules. Besides, a cash award of Rs. 500 and savings bonds worth Rs. 1,000 would also be given to the family. Mr. Sukhadia said.

A cash award of Rs. 1,000 will be given to Loon Singh who showed 'extraordinary bravery against the Mujahids. Rest of the jawans, would be given Rs. 500 each he said.

The Chief Minister paid tribute to a Muslim who first spotted the Mujahids and informed the Butowala post about them. The alert citizen would also get Rs. 1,000 as reward.

Chapter Twenty-Three

PAKISTAN LOST ITS TEETH IN A FORTNIGHT

> What is defeat ? Nothing but education, nothing but the first step to something better.
>
> —*Wendell Phillips*

Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri quoted President Ayub Khan as having said that for Pakistan, with its tank corps pressed into service, marching on Delhi would be like taking a stroll.

"If that was how the Pakistan President viewed it, he must not take it amiss if we decided to take a stroll and reached the outskirts of Lahore," he said amidst laughter.

Fantasy that Failed

President Ayub's fantasy of having an easy walk to Delhi failed within a fortnight. By September 19th it was a burst bubble.

Lt.-Gen. M. S. Wadalia, former Deputy Chief of Army Staff and former commander of India's armoured divisions, said that Pakistan army had lost its power of biting as its teeth were knocked out by Indian Army and at best it could only nibble at us.

Gen. Wadalia in his broadcast from the Delhi station of All India Radio said that with something like 300 tanks "killed" or captured, the enemy had been put on the defensive.

Referring to the tank battles fought in the Chhamb-Jaurian sector, the general said, "the interesting sidelight of the battle has been the number of enemy tank captured intact by our

troops. The size of the booty is the largest in proportion to numbers employed in any action in recent times.

Gen. Wadalia paid handsome tributes to our Air Force and fliers who have destroyed more than 60 enemy planes which by any standard are superior than ours. He said, "our Air Force is now virtually in command of the skies and skill and daring of our pilot, is bound to exercise an increasing influence on ground operations."

Pakistan Losses Staggering

By September 20th, the Pakistan losses of tanks and planes were staggering.

The Pakistan losses in tanks rose to a total of 403.

Pakistan's losses in aircraft made a total of 65. An official spokesman said IAF bombings on the Pakistani air bases had also taken a toll of PAF aircraft, but no official estimate of their number had been made.

Other Pakistani casualties included 3,599 men, including 22 officers killed and 443 including 12 officers captured. These casualty figures were for the period from Sept. 5 to Sept. 18.

Indian losses were: tanks—100, IAF aircraft—32, armed forces personnel—976, including 64 officers. The high figures of fatal casualties among the officer cadre was a testimony to the risks taken by the officers who led their men in the frontline battles, an official spokesman said.

The breakdown of Pakistan's losses in tanks, officially given were as follows: Pattons—222, Shermans—43, Chaffes and others—126 plus the 12 destroyed but not classified yet.

Apart from these, 38 Pakistani tanks (24 Pattons and 14 Shermans) were captured by our forces in good condition. About 300 of these tanks were destroyed by ground fire and the rest by the IAF by air strikes.

The PAF aircraft losses include 43 Sabre jets (F-86), 5 supersonic Starfighters (F-104 A), 7 bombers (B-57), 2 transport (C-130), 2 four-engined transport and 6 other types.

The Government spokesman confirmed that Pakistani anti-tanks missiles had been captured in the Lahore sector, but he was unable to say of what make these were.

London concedes defeat

London press, the best friend of Pakistan in the present conflict, conceded on September 16th that the Indian Armed Forces were superior and bound to win the war.

The remarkable feat of courage and skill of the Indian armed forces, in checking and defeating superior Pakistan armour and faster, more modern Pak planes, was now being recognized in Britain.

The Times Delhi correspondent confessed "those who, like your correspondent, believed that the superiority of Pakistan armour would be telling wherever it could be brought to bear, have been stultified." He also wrote that "the danger of a Pakistan lunge into India (which he had predicted earlier) now seems to be past. Pakistan's armour has been scattered to meet the multiple Indian thrusts—that was the Indian objective—and where it has been concentrated Indian troops have convincingly shown their ability to meet it." He also points what has been obvious from the beginning that Indians have been fighting well inside Pakistan territory and Pakistanis are on Indian territory only on one sector.

The correspondent affirms that the Indian Army, IAF in nine days of battle have kept the initiative, have not suffered any serious reverses and have destroyed much Pakistan armour and artillery.

Editorially too the Times comes to the conclusion that the Pakistanis must have "realized that their plan to bring off some coup in Kashmir has run into trouble. "The initiative that had been theirs, while infiltrators were crossing the ceasefire line, is now slipping from their hands.

Fields littered with Pak Armour

The PTI correspondent who visited front areas on September 19th found vivid evidence of the enemy's armoured division having been shattered or cracked.

The enemy appears to have been mauled by our jawans who have given a glorious account of themselves wherever the enemy challenged them.

In a forward area in the Sialkot front, a vast field was littered with the enemy's much flaunted armour—American tanks of various sorts, armoured cars and a variety of small

arms. The wreckage was reported to be the result of a bloody battle fought two days earlier.

The enemy had fielded nearly 100 tanks in what he regarded as a prestige encounter almost at the doors of Sialkot, considered to be one of his citadels.

Our forces, man to man and machine to machine, faced the enemy's onslaught with cheer and courage, dealing, perhaps, the deadliest blows the enemy has so far met with in any battle.

In the Sialkot sector, our forces knocked out 52 enemy tanks in a day's battle for the loss of only six.

In the Chhamb sector, where at one stage the enemy appeared to be moving forward unchecked, he has not only been pushed back but nailed to a position from which he now finds it hard to extricate himself. The enemy has abandoned his offensive postures and taken defensive positions. His guns, which were so vocal some days ago, have already become distant and subdued.

The jawans, in a forward area of the Sialkot sector, related the epic story of the famous tank battle fought in the same area. Many enemy tanks, consisting of Pattons, Chaffes and Walker bulldozers, were still lying scattered around.

The previous evening the jawans had engaged a group of Pakistani men in a hand-to-hand fighting. After they had lost 52 of their tanks, the Pakistani soldiers had come there to see if any of the tanks could be taken across and salvaged. An eerie darkness had enveloped the area when they came but our jawans had lost no time in challenging them.

Superb feat

The officer commanding the tank operations in the area related how it was possible for our forces to take a toll of nearly 70 tanks within two or three days, a feat whieh Rommel with his Africa Corps had performed in the EI Alamein battle. Rommel could do it only with the support of a powerful air force.

"The reason is simple," the O.C. explained. "I have trained my men like pony horses. The standard of training imparted to them is very high and above everything else they are a brave lot. On the other hand, the enemy is amateurish at his tanks and is not prepared to take risks."

Chapter Twenty-Four

PAKISTAN SOUGHT CHINESE TEETH

Which I wish to remark—
  And my language is plain—
For ways that are dark,
  And for tricks that are vain,
The heathen Chinese is peculiar.

—*Bret Harte*
Plain Language from Truthful James

Pakistan, having lost its teeth, looked to China for a set of artificial teeth. But Peking deceived Karachi as it deceived all other friends. It only played for delaying tactics to let President Ayub and Prime Minister destroy each other's forces.

Signs of desperation

By September 14th, Pakistan was showing clear signs of desperation as military reverses frustrated its designs to force India to make concessions on Kashmir.

Its appeal for support from China and other countries backfired. It gained little concrete assistance, but the appeal hardened the diplomatic stance taken by the U.S. and Russia against expansion of the India-Pakistan conflict.

Diplomatic observers read considerable significance into the fact that both Washington and Moscow advised Peking against meddling in or further inflaming, the conflict. The U.S. view was expressed by Secretary of State Dean Rusk and the Soviet in an official statement circulated by Tass.

By implication, the advice also applies to Indonesia, Turkey

and Iran, although for obvious diplomatic reasons neither Moscow nor Washington could make this plain.

These statements opened the way for co-ordinated U.S.-Soviet moves to localize the conflict—a policy that frustrated Rawalpindi which itself underlined its dependence on foreign support.

Increasing Pakistani desperation was also evident from reports filed by American correspondents of censorship and increasing restrictions on movements in Pakistan.

The American Broadcasting Corporation broadcast tape-recordings of exchanges between its correspondent and Pakistani officials. The correspondent was trying to tape conversation and sounds at a Pathan tribal camp near Rawalpindi, but was prevented from doing so. Local officials insisted that his tape-recorder was a radio transmitter directing Indian bombers to the camp.

Pakistani attempts to disguise military reverses by refusing to permit evacuation of American citizens from the Lahore area caused considerable friction with Washington. Rawalpindi finally agreed to permit the evacuation after a personal call by U.S. Ambassador McConaughy on Foreign Minister Bhutto.

On September 17th New Delhi received a telegram from Mr. Jagat Mehta, India's Charge d'Affaires in Peking, describing how brusquely he was treated when he was handed over the latest Chinese Note after midnight.

Mr. Mehta asked the Chinese officials whether a neutral observer was not acceptable to China. They first evaded the question, and then replied there was no neutral observer in the world.

Another question which Mr. Mehta asked was whether the note was an ultimatum of war.

Again the officials did not reply for some time, but later said: "Yes, it is, and India should be prepared to face the consequences if she did not accept it."

Grave Consequences !

China warned India that "grave consequences" may arise if India did not get out from Chinese-claimed side of the China-

Sikkim border "within three days."

The strong warning was made in an unusual diplomatic move by summoning the Indian Charge d'Affaires to Peking, Mr, J. S. Mehta, to the Chinese Foreign Ministry, after 1 a.m.

The Chinese note was in reply to India's note dated Sept. 2 and 12, involving the border between India and China. The latest Indian note said Peking's repeated charges added "more baseless allegations to old charges and with unwarranted threats and warnings."

"The Chinese Government now demanded that the Indian Government dismantle all its military works for aggression on the Chinese side of the China-Sikkim boundary or on the boundary itself within three days of the delivery of the present note, and immediately stop all its intrusions along the Sino-Indian boundary and the China-Sikkim bouudary, return the kidnapped Chinese border inhabitants and seized live-stock and pledge to refrain from any more harassing raids across the boundary.

"Otherwise, the Indian Government must bear full responsibility for all the grave consequences arising therefrom," the Chinese note delivered through Mr. Yang Kung-su, Deputy Director of the first Department of the Asian Affairs of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, said.

The Chinese note, which mostly reiterated similar charges made last Sept, 8 said : "There are now 56 such military works, large and small, which they have built in the past few years all over the important passes along the China-Sikkim boundary, thus wantonly encroaching upon China's territory and violating her sovereignty.

"In this year, the Chinese Government has made 13 representations to the Indian Government. But the Indian Government has all along turned a deaf ear to them."

India claimed the charges were "baseless" and expressed willingness to permit a neutral and independent observer to visit the border to see for himself the actual state of affairs.

The Chinese note, however, neither agreed or rejected it. only said : "Now, the Indian Government pretentiously says that the matter can be settled if only an independent and

neutral observer should go to the border to see for himself. It further shamelessly asserts that Indian troops have never crossed the Sikkim-China boundary which has been formally delimited, and that India has not built any military works either on the Chinese side of the border or on the border itself. This is a barefaced lie. How can it hope to deceive anyone ?, it asked.

Chinese Threat Analysed

The Hong Kong correspondent of the Sunday Times said. "Having succeeded for so long in 'standing idly by' on the Vietnam front while pledging to do nothing of the sort, the Chinese will find it difficult to repeat indefinitely the same delicate exercise in double talk without action on the Indian front.

"China's original aggression against India paid off handsomely in 1962. It demonstrated Chinese strengh and Indian weakness, acclerated favourable frontier 'settlements' with Burma. Afghanistan and Pakistan and extended Chinese influence over Nepal and the Himalayan States of Bhutan and Sikkim. The Chinese-built highway from Kathmandu to Lhasa has been completed.

"The Chinese have now ruthlessly cleared the decks in Tibet, where despite sporadic, courageous but doomed tribal unrest they have established an 'autonomous region'—which, in Peking jargon, means a region without any autonomy at all, but one controlled by the Chinese Communist Party.

"Indians estimate that there are 300,000 Chinese troops, well-entrenched and well-equipped, along the 1,800-mile border—20 divisions of about 14,000 men. In particular, the Chinese have a large concentration in the Chumbi Valley salient thrusting south between Sikkim and Bhutan towards West Bengal and East Pakistan.

Indian involvement

"Tectical probes here could take advantage of Indian involvement on the western front and tighten and extend Chinese influence in disputed north-eastern areas with a minimum of military risk and maximum show of selfless Com-

munist aid to Pakistan. No one expects China to aid Pakistan directly in the field.

"Obviously, it is in the interests of Peking to provide blood transfusions for the conflict between Pakistan and India. India will have to follow Pakistan's lead and cut back economic development in favour of defence spending. Pakistan has already announced an austerity cut of 5 per cent. This, China hopes, will hasten the confidently "predicted distintegration of India and the sub-continent's inevitable piecemeal surrender in disunity and suffering to Communist rule."

Sheep ! Sheepish ! Sheepishly !

Threat after threat, ultimatum after ultimatum, boiled to Peking's single accusation that the Indian Army had kidnapped 200 sheep from the Tibet area.

Two hundred sheep were taken to the Chinese Embassy by the citizens of Delhi with the slogan : "Eat us and save the world".

This Indian sense of humour reverberated round the world. Commenting on this. *The Christian Science Monitor* remarked: "We had not realized that in their moments of distress, Indians could show such a pleasing sense of humour."

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Chapter Twenty-Five

AYUB APPEALS TO JOHNSON

Often times the test of courage becomes rather to live than to die.

—*Alfleri*

Pindi appealed to Washington after it had lost all hopes of Peking coming to the help of Pakistan by opening the second front against India. President Ayub was sadly disillusioned. He was a sadder but a wiser man.

President Ayub realised at long last that President Johnson was his better and brighter friend than Prime Minister Chou-En-lai. But Ayub should have known that Chou did not help him because he knew all the time precisely that Pindi was closer t Washington than to Peking !

Open Invitation

On September 15th, President Ayub issued an open invitation to President Johnson to bring his powers to bear upon the solution of the India-Pakistan conflict.

"The United States can play a very definite role by telling India and Pakistan she will not stand for this struggle," he said.

"The U.S. could have brought it (a solution) earlier, and could have brought it about today," he stressed.

President Ayub told newsmen: "The United States should have come out quite openly and taken a direct hand in this thing. This is not going to do U.S. influence any good."

Asked what would happen if Mr. Johnson told Pakistan the war must stop, he replied: "You'd have to tell both. Let's have arrangements to eliminate these problems."

Asked whether Pakistan's previously announced statement that ceasefire terms included a plebiscite in Kashmir within three months was still a solid demand, Field Marshal Ayub said: "It's a matter that can be negotiated."

He said the United Nations terms for a ceasefire were not negotiable at all.

He pointed out these included a call for a return to the original ceasefire line.

This was not acceptable, he said.

Asked about the statement of Mr. Dean Rusk, U. S. Secretary of State, about the danger of China fishing in troubled waters, he replied: "It do not think so, sir. The Chinese have not asked us to do this thing or another."

He said he did not know whether the Chinese had said anything to India.

He called on the U.S. to play its role in this part of the world "more positively."

A great world Power had two major ways of exerting its positions, through power and influence, he said.

"The United States has more than enough power. We know that. But more important is her influence—and she has plenty in Pakistan."

Honourable Settlement !

President Ayub Khan said that any ceasefire in the present conflict with India should be "purposeful" and "ensure an honourable settlement of the Kashmir problem."

He said a military decision did not solve any problem. On the contrary, it would create more and more bitterness and complications.

The Pakistani President said the ceasefire should also prevent the possibility of it being used for another armed conflict.

He charged that India had extended her aggression beyond Kashmir on the Pakistani "sacred soil" and every inch of it would be defended.

The President said Pakistan was engaged in a "life and death struggle" and would continue the struggle whatever may be the cost.

President Ayub said a ceasefire should be followed by the introduction into Kashmir of a United Nations force, provided by Afro-Asian countries, to ensure the fairness of a plebiscite on Kashmir's future.

He said there must be a ceasefire, followed by the withdrawal of both Indian and Pakistani forces from Kashmir and a plebiscite within three months.

No Independent Kashmir !

In view of his statement on the U.S. role, President Ayub was asked whether Pakistan was basing its hopes on involvement by the great Powers.

He said: "I am putting my hopes on mutual self-interest. I am putting my hopes for a ceasefire on common sense." Asked about the possibility of a ceasefire, he said: "We shall have to see" what India would do.

In response to another question he said he would welcome any Commonwealth Ministers' meeting to help bring about a solution to the war.

President Ayub was asked whether Pakistan could agree to inclusion in a Kashmir plebiscite the possibility of an independent Kashmir.

He replied: "That would open up a much bigger issue. Complete independence in Kashmir would create another cockpit of power politics. Some years ago it was a matter you could talk about but today I am not sure it would be practical".

A Matter of Philosophy!

Asked how long it would be possible for Pakistan to maintain the war at the present rate, he said:" Should I answer that, do you think?" and smiled.

Then he said: "We'll go as long as we can."

President Ayub opened his statement by saying there has been trouble between the two nations since the time of partition in 1947.

"It is said the Muslims wanted a separate State for development of a State in which God is the sovereign. That is not so. We want a State that is modern, that moves with the times. At

the same time we want to retain our spiritual and moral values," he said.

He said the philosophies of India and Pakistan were diametrically opposed.

Pakistan's Wild Goose !

"What India is doing to get out of continuing this struggle I don't know," he said. The President said that India was "on a wild goose chase if she expects she can subjugate over one hundred million people."

The President made it clear that Pakistan remained adamant in its demand for a Kashmir plebiscite.

"This is what the United Nations resolutions have said. When you have peaceful settlement by negotiations you have to see that the people of Kashmir have been taken into consideration.

"Either a plebiscite or the substance of a plebiscite would be necessary. We cannot ask them to go under."

Mr. Ayub said : "I am putting my hopes for a ceasefire on good common sense."

"These military steps are forced on us. Military decisions alone will only create further struggle and bitterness."

He emphasized that common sense should prevail on both sides. "This business of taking bits of each other's territory is not the answer," be said.

Asked if U Thant's peace mission had any tangible success, President Ayub replied : "I really cannot say. We don't know what has transpired in India. It remains to be seen what reports he submits to the Security Council and what resolutions they adopt."

Mr. Ayub claimed that Pakistan had no intention of extending the war. "Pakistan is only acting in self-defence," he said.

He said that if India were not involved in the struggle with Pakistan, her position in Asia and the whole world would have been totally different.

"Pakistan cannot take the place of India," he added.

He said he had expressed this view to Mr. Nehru and also Mr. Shastri.

India-Pak Co-Existence ?

"I said common sense dictates that we should have a plan of living with each other now that the two countries have come into being.

"All appeal have fallen on deaf ears. I have not been able to convince the Indian leaders that it is in their interests to have a working arrangement with Pakistan. That can only be arrived at on a basis of equality and honour."

President Ayub said India must realize it was "impossible to turn Pakistan into a satellite or swallow it."

President Ayub said India ought to realize how much she had to gain by reaching a "working arrangement" with Pakistan—a" method of living with each other on a basis of deceny and honour."

Battle for Survival

He said that Pakistan had known of the concentration of Indian armour and Infantry along the Pakistan frontier opposite Lahore and in Jammu and Akhnur areas after the Rann of Kutch incident.

When India attacked her aim was to capture Lahore, then develop a major offensive in the Sialkot area "and then dictate terms to Pakistan."

He said : "They were looking for on opportunity to carry out such an action."

He complained that "instead of confining the struggle which had been going on for 18 years in Kashmir, India has extended the area of aggression into the territories of Pakistan.

"We are today faced with a battle for survival and we are fighting that battle."

Chapter Twenty-Six

THE BIG THREE

Ba, ba, black sheep !
    Have you any wool?
Yes, sir ! yes, sir !
    Three bags full—
One for my master,
    One for the dame,
And one for the little boy
    That lives down the lane.

—*Nursery Rhyme.*

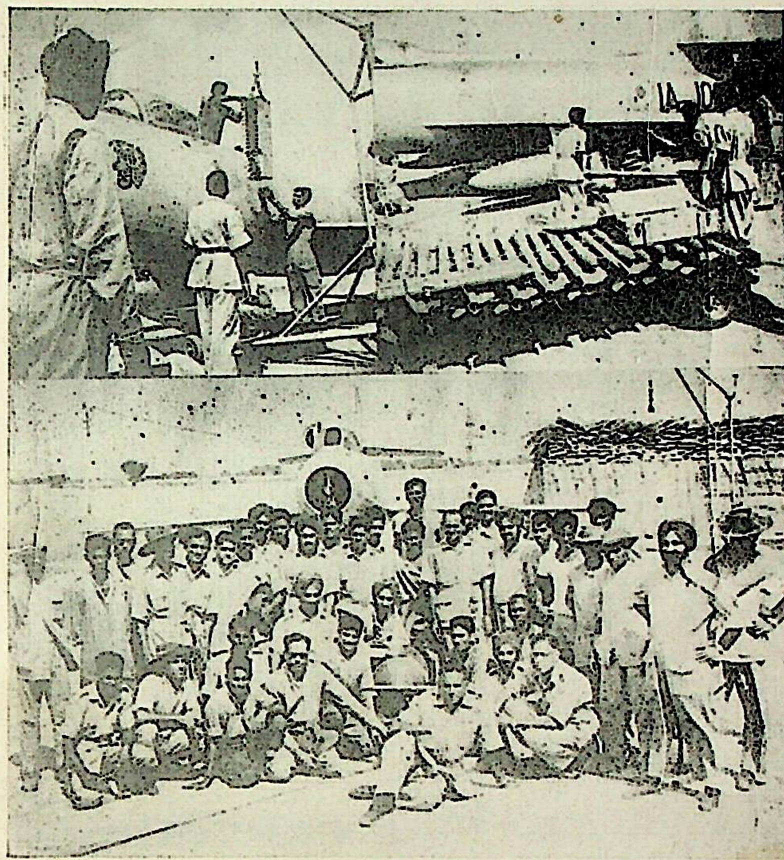
Pakistan was reduced to the level of a Ba—Ba—Black—Sheep. Having sent an open invitation to President Johnson for peace, Ayub could sit on the fence and sing a nursery rhyme.

After all, Pakistan had "three bags full" of wool—one for the "master" President Johnson, one for the "dame" Prime Minister Kosygin, and one for the "little boy who lives down the lane", that is of course Prime Minister Harold Wilson. All three received the invitation from Pakistan very favourably.

Two ways

This was the considered opinion of political commentators about Pakistan's desire for peaee:—

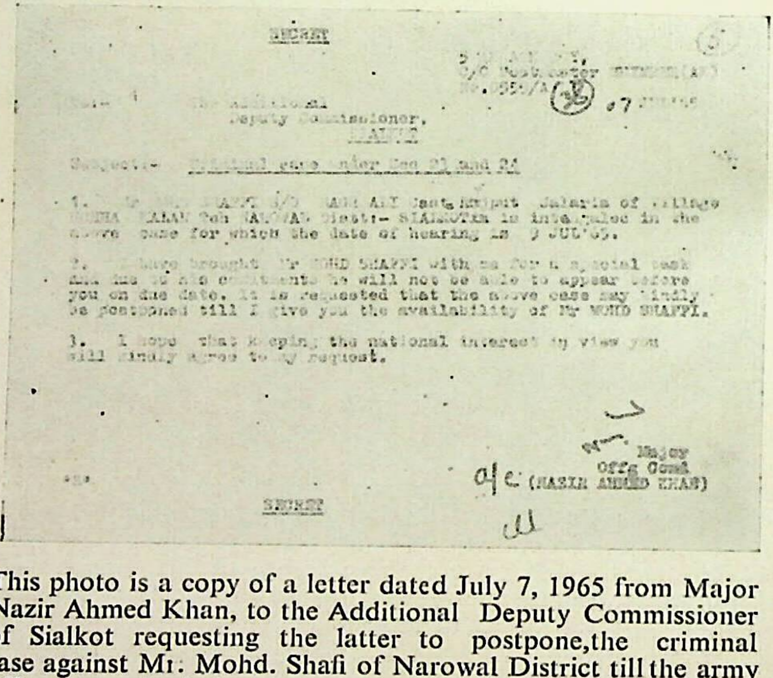
At this stage of the Indo-Pakistan conflict political analysis saw two possible ways of restoring peace and preventing future resort to arms, One was a convincing demonstration of India's military superiority that would inhibit Pakistan from stirring up



Just to keep the aircraft ready for a strike at short notice, the airmen at all fighter bases have been known to load such lethal stores as front gun ammunition (top left) and rockets (top right) on our aircraft even when enemy air raids were in progress. The ground crew of a Mystere Squadron take time off (below) to pose for a photograph round a high explosive bomb, which they then loaded on the the aircraft standing in the background.



Defence Minister Chavan with the Jawans on the front.



SECRET

[illegible]
C/O Postmaster [illegible]
No. [illegible] 07 [illegible]

To:- The Additional
Deputy Commissioner,
[illegible]

Subject:- [illegible] case under Sec [illegible] and [illegible]

1. [illegible] SHAFFI S/O [illegible] ALI Caste Rajput Jalaria of village [illegible] KALAN Teh NAROWAL Distt:- SIALKOT is [illegible] in the above case for which the date of hearing is 9 JUL'65.

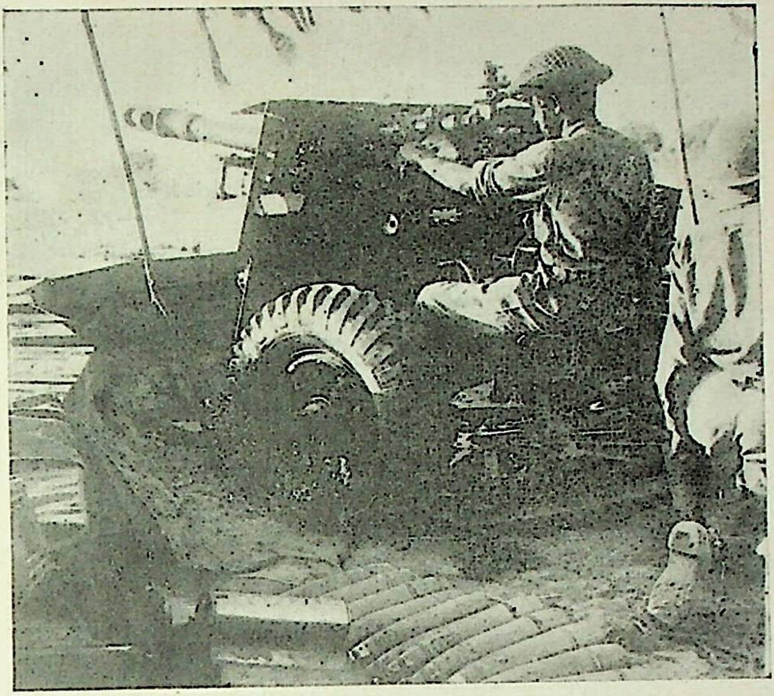
2. [illegible] have brought Mr MOHD SHAFFI with me for a special task and due to his commitments he will not be able to appear before you on due date. It is requested that the above case may kindly be postponed till I give you the availability of Mr MOHD SHAFFI.

3. I hope that keeping the national interest in view you will kindly agree to my request.

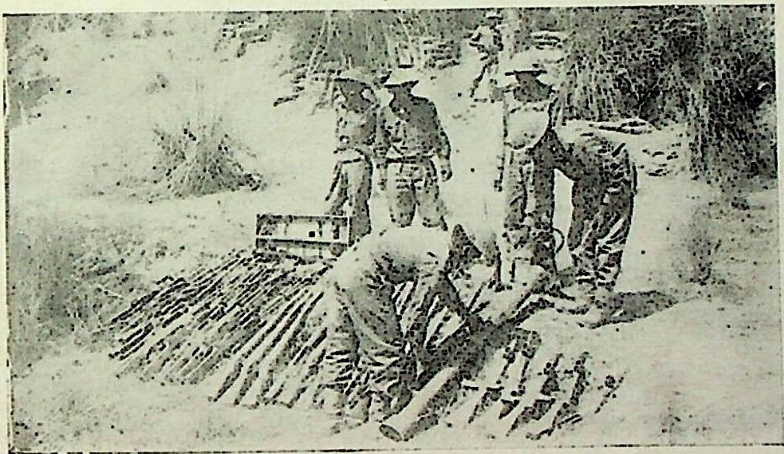
Major
Offg Comd
(NAZIR AHMED KHAN)

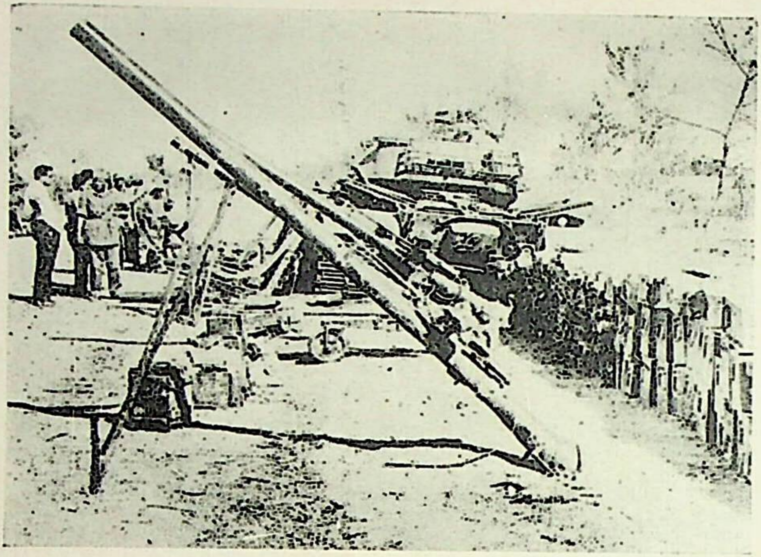
SECRET

This photo is a copy of a letter dated July 7, 1965 from Major Nazir Ahmed Khan, to the Additional Deputy Commissioner of Sialkot requesting the latter to postpone,the criminal case against Mr. Mohd. Shafi of Narowal District till the army officer gave the intimation of the availability of the accused.



Manning a gun on the Front.





Some of the weapons captured in the battle of Dograi.

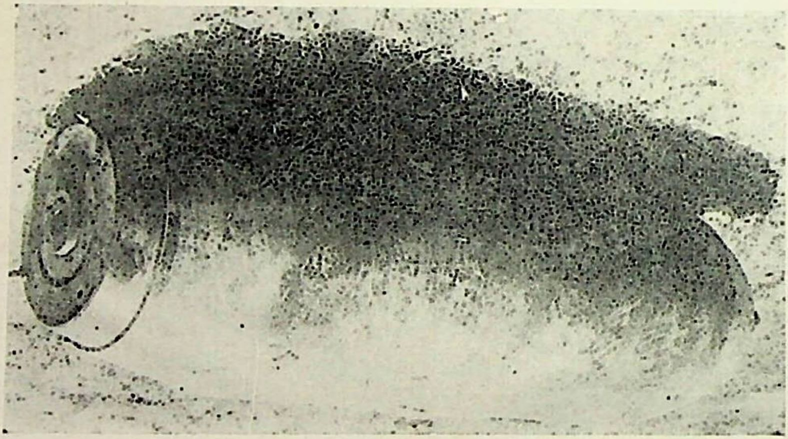
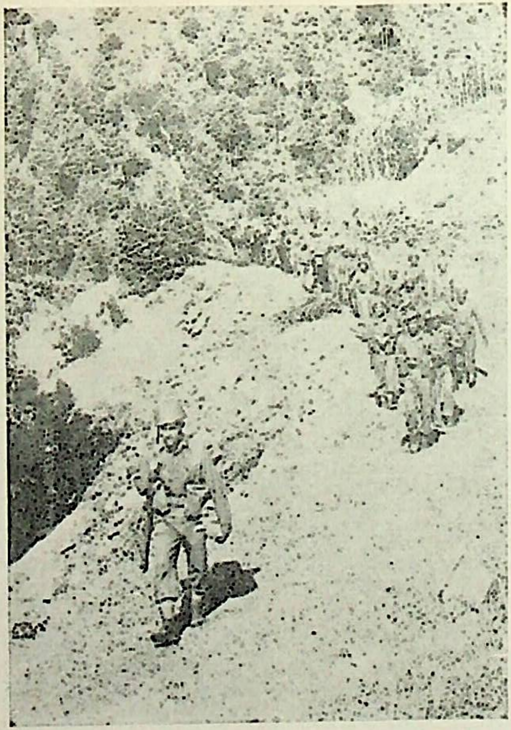
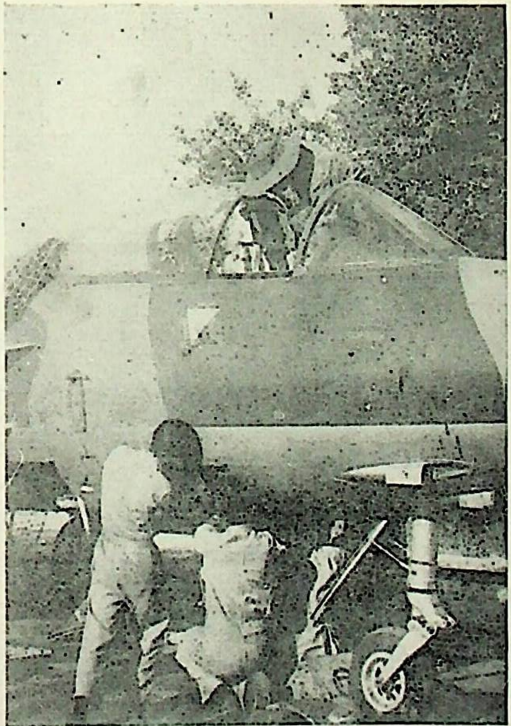


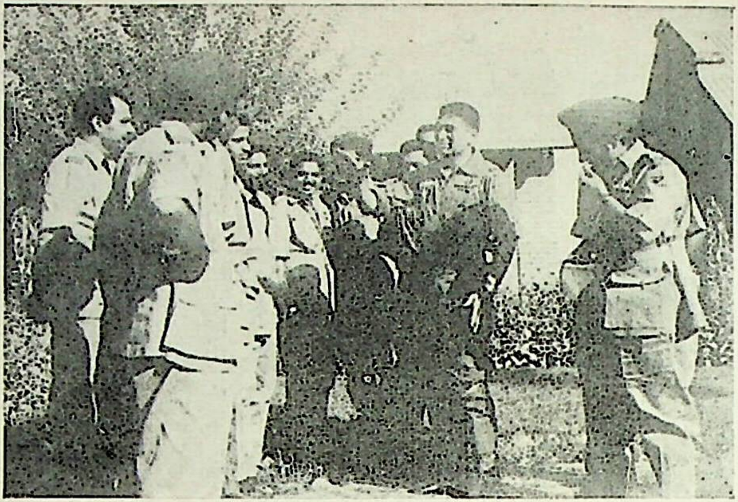
Photo of a Pakistani bomb.



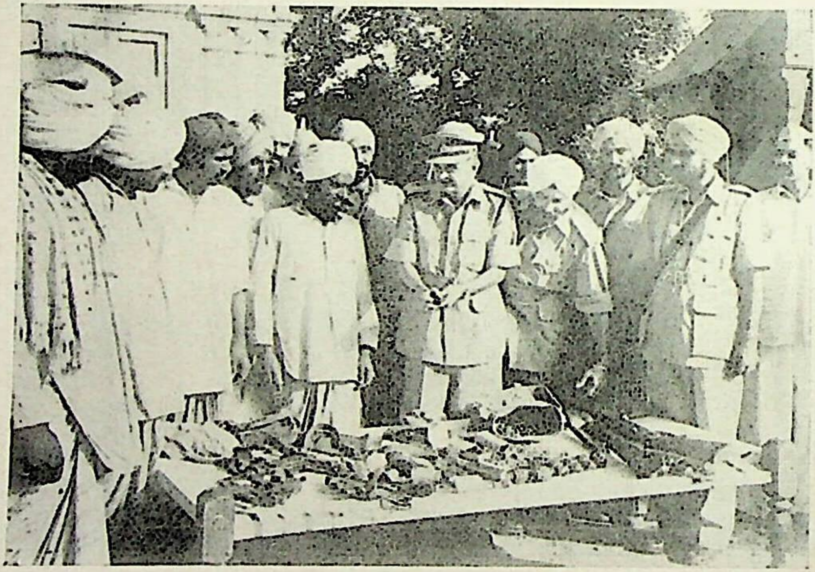
A Column of our troops in the Haji Pir Pass advancing to neutralise Pakistani posts in the area.



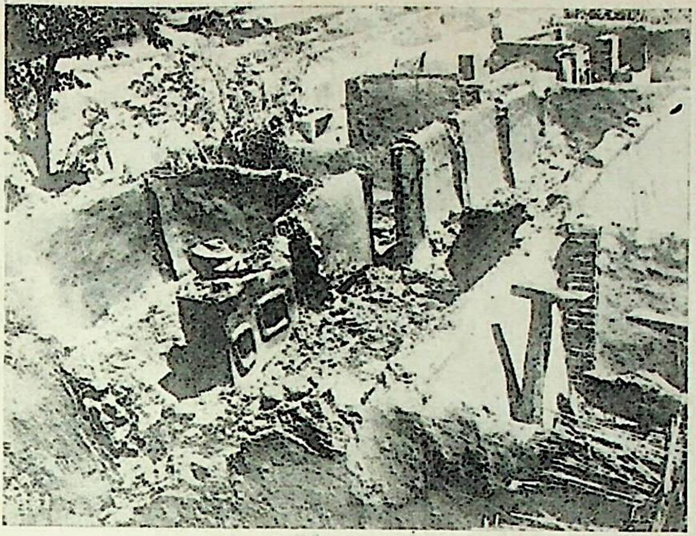
Indian Air Force technicians refuelling a Gnat which just returned from an interception sortie.



Flying Officer D.P. Chinoy recounting his tale of escaping from the enemy territory to his fellow pilot.



The villagers and police party with the arms and ammunition recovered from captured paratroopers in Jullundur area.



The photograph show villagers' houses badly damaged by the Pakistani air attack. The roofs have also been blown off.



A disabled Pakistani tank lies listlessly by the road-side in the Lahore sector, as one of the numerous casualties inflicted on the enemy armour by our ground and air forces.



Abdul Hamid.



In the phote Shrimati Indira Gandhi, then Union Minister of Information & Broadcasting and Chairman, Citizens' Central Council who visited the camp, is seen distributing clothes among the refugees.

another conflict. The other was concession by India that would hopefully satisfy Pakistan.

The Big Three have already expressed their opposition to further extension of the fighting. The common underlying reason appears to be the fear that if it continues for long, China may emerge strongly as the dominating force in Asia. Alternatively, if Pakistan faces early military defeat it may go to any length to invite Chinese intervention.

As a result there were signs of an initially favourable response to Pakistan's diplomatic campaign. These could be defeated only if New Delhi showed the same courage and determination in resisting political pressures as India's armed forces demonstrated in resisting the military threat from Pakistan.

The key position India occupies in the Asian policies of the West and Russia place a ceiling on the pressures they can exert. If they see no prospect of India yielding, they are unlikely to step up pressures to a point at which it becomes self-defeating. For if India is seriously weakened by economic sanctions for other measures, the very situation that the Big Three are trying to avert will be promoted.

Initial pressures on India to make concessions may not continue if New Delhi is able to convince world opinion that there is no question of it modifying its Kashmir policy. In that case the Big Powers may turn their attention to persuading Pakistan to accept the status quo. But if New Delhi shows the slightest willingness to reopen the Kashmir issue, there are clear indications that pressures will mount.

U.S. for U.N.

President Johnson's response to President Ayub's appeal for help in solving the war problem was at best lukewarm. He did not want Uncle Sam to burn his fingers alone. He wanted the job to be done through the United Nations.

The statement by the Press Secretary, Mr. Bill Moyers, left the way wide open for direct action by Mr. Johnson to make clear U.S. insistence on an end to the fighting.

President Ayub said earlier that a strong stand by President Johnson on ending the struggle would force a solution.

Mr. Moyer's statement strongly affirmed Johnson support for

U. Thant's efforts but did not close the possibility of a more direct U.S. move in the future. Meanwhile, it was understood that the U.S. would seek through the Pakistan Embassy in Rawalpindi to find out exactly what President Ayub meant by his remark.

"The U.S. position strongly and without equivocation is to support the role of the United Nations," Mr. Moyers said.

"Of course, the President wants to do everything and anything he can. He and his advisers believes that the route is through the United Nations. How he (the President) personally can be helpful is a judgment only the President can make," Mr. Moyers said.

These words left no doubt that President Johnson was unwilling to have the U.S. take on the task of peace-making single handedly. On the contrary, U.S. policy calls for maximum co-operation on this issue with other Powers in the U.N. Council, including Britain, France and Russia.

"We remain very hopeful that the U.N. will be able to resolve this issue between India and Pakistan," Mr. Moyers said.

The spokesman was asked if the White House had received any private information that U. Thant had achieved any success in his peace mission.

He replied that the mission had not been completed "and therefore is not yet unsuccessful."

"We remain hopeful that it will be successful," he said.

U.S.S.R. now neutral !

Russia which was strongly pro-Indian for the last seventeen years now became neutral with pro-Pakistan leanings.

Indian Ambassador in Moscow, Mr. Kaul, called on the Russian leaders to know their reactions lo Indo-Pakistan conflict.

The discussions took place at a reception at the Kremlin in honour of the visiting President Novotny of Czechoslovakia.

Mr. Leonid Brezhnev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, Soviet Foreign Minister, and Mr. Polyansky, Deputy Prime Minister and Presidium

member, were among those with whom Mr. Kaul was seen having lively conversation.

Mr. Kaul is understood to have told the Soviet leaders India which had always been for peace and for peaceful settlement of disputes, was even today prepared for a peaceful course and that whatever action it had been forced to take in the present conflict was in self-defence.

He also reiterated India's stand that Pakistan must accept responsibility for the armed infiltrators it had sent into Kashmir and guarantee that it would not do so in future. Otherwise, a ceasefire would have no meaning, he added.

Mr. Kaul is also believed to have said that the ceasefire line drawn 18 years ago had no meaning in reality today. It needed to be "straightened out" and made more logical India had to retain the passes through which the infiltrators had come, he argued.

The Soviet leaders are understood to have expressed their appreciation of India's stand and its desire not to enlarge the conflict. They, however, emphasized that India and Pakistan should agree to an immediate ceasefire and thereby help create the right atmosphere to settle the issue once and for all through peaceful means.

Mr. Kaul is understood to have referred to Monday's Tass statement on the India-Pakistan conflict and hoped that it would have an influence in favour of peace particularly on third parties who might be contemplating to intervene.

References to the conflict were made by Soviet and Czechoslovak leaders at a Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship meeting in the Kremlin here yesterday.

Mr. Brezhnev described the conflict as "a sad event" and hoped that both India and Pakistan would realize that further aggravation of it was not in their interests and that they would find a way to eliminate it.

Mr. Novotny said: "Reactionary forces for their own ends bring differences existing between countries to armed clashes like the one, for instance, between India and Pakistan. It is a great pity that such States as India and Pakistan, too, by their armed conflicts, create a climate unfavourable to the cause of

peace. We believe that both States should exert maximum efforts to reach mutual understanding."

Pakistan spurns U.N.

While President Ayub refused help of U. Thant, Secretary-General of Uuited Nations, President Johnson looked only in that direction for help. But Ayub did not want the United Nations. It only wanted United States to intervene between Delhi and Karachi.

This was disclosed by the Secretary General in his preliminary report to the Security Council on September 10, 1965.

President Ayub in his reply to U. Thant's letters of Sept. 15 and 12, all of which form part of the report, said that a ceasefire could be meaningful "only if it is followed by such steps as would lead to a durable and honourable settlement in order to preclude recurrence of a catastrophe such as now threatens the sub-continent."

The President's reply, which was received today, added: "To bring about such a statement it would be necessary to evolve an effective machinery and procedure that would lead to a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute."

U. Thant has promised to make a further report to the Council to discuss the India-Pakistan conflict.

The preliminary report brings out that while India was, in the interests of peace, willing to accept U. Thant's suggestion for an unconditional cessation of hostilities if Pakistan agreed to it, Pakistan did not convey its acceptance of the proposal and in fact indirectly rejected it in its reply to his further proposal for a Shastri-Ayub meeting.

In his identical message to the two leaders U. Thant said: "For my part, I am at your disposal for any role which may assist the two Governments in their efforts to stop the fighting and to take the first steps upon the path of mutual accommodation."

He also reminded both Mr. Shastri and President Ayub "of the number of offers you have had from world leaders who are willing to be available to you for any conciliatory assistance you may wish. Indeed, if you seek the ways of peace, most of the world stands ready to assist you."

The report gave an account of the Secretary-General's meeting with the two leaders since he left New York on Sept. 7 for Rawalpindi and New Delhi.

The Secretary-General said his talks had been "very frank and open."

Chapter Twenty-Seven

NAME THE AGGGRESSOR !

> O Children of Adam ! We have revealed unto you raiment to conceal your shame, and splendid vesture, but the raiment of restraint from evil, that is best. This is the revelation of Allah, that they may remember.
>
> O Children of Adam ! Let not Satan seduce you as he caused your (first) parents to go forth from the Garden and tore off their robe (innocence) that he might manifest their shame to them.
>
> *Koran, Surah, VII, 26-27.*

India's Education Minister M.C. Chagla told the Security Council at the United Nations on September 17, 1965 that it should first find who was the aggressor in the present conflict between India and Pakistan.

Who is the Aggressor ?

"The basic question is who is that aggressor," Mr. Chagla declared, "It is time to call a spade a spade."

Reports from the UN observer force in Kashmir clearly indicated that armed infiltrators had crossed the border from Pakistan into India on Aug. 5, he said.

The Minister told the Council : "It is your duty to condemn this aggression. Otherwise international law has no meaning."

The Crucial date

Mr. Chagla said : "The particular conflict which is going

on is a conflict not of our making. If we have to resist Pakistani aggression with arms, it is purely for self-defence ... war is opposed to our philosophy ... We have done our best to prevent the escalation of this war.

Mr. Chagla said Pakistan was the first to use field artillery, tanks with air cover, bombing of cities, paratroop drops, naval bombardment—and "we have not used our navy at all."

"The basic question, which this Council must resolve is, who is the aggressor ? And I ask the Council not to shirk in giving the answer."

He said Pakistan was clearly the aggressor. In support of this, he quoted U Thant's first report to the Council. It said that Gen. Nimmo, chief UN military observer in Kashmir, had concluded that ceasefire line violations started on Aug. 5.

"That to my mind is the crucial date," said Mr. Chagla, "and the Council has to apply itself to that date. What happened on that date is that Pakistan invaded India. Kashmir is part of India, and the invasion of Kashmir was invasion of India. Aggression on Kashmir was aggression on India."

Mr. Chagla said "what Pakistan calls 'Azad' (free) Kashmir, is what we call the illegally-occupied part of Kashmir by Pakistan."

Mujahid Force

Quoting a Pakistan paper, he said that on June 8, the Pakistan Government issued an order creating a "Mujahid" (freedom-fighter) force, deemed as part of the Pakistan Army.

The August infiltrators into Indian Kashmir, he said, were of the regular Pakistan force, and they were trained in West Pakistan under the Commander of Pakistan 12th Infantry Divlsion.

They were organized into eight forces, each of six companies composed of 110 men each and were armed by Pakistan.

"Pakistan must be condemned. Pakistan must be asked to vacate this aggression. Do not equate the aggressor and the victim. Do not bracket them together."

In sending armed men into Kashmir, Mr. Chagla declared. Pakistan thought there would be an uprising and Kashmir

would fall like a ripe plum. But all the Kashmiris stood firm and handed over the infiltrators to the security forces, and this grand design of Pakistan failed.

"Having failed in that," Mr. Chagla, said "Pakistan started an invasion in force with her regular army...in the Chammb sector...that sector contains our life-line."

Mr. Chagla accused Pakistan of seeking to provoke religious war. He said India had 50 million Muslims with all the fundamental rights.

"India is a secular State," Mr. Chagla said, "but Pakistan does not like it, because she is a theocratic State."

This was the third invasion by Pakistan of India, Mr. Chagla said. The first was in 1947-48 when they attacked Kashmir. The second was earlier this year in the Rann of Kutch.

Pakistan, Mr. Chagla averred, was using U.S.-supplied ammunitions, intended for use against the Chinese Communist, against India instead.

He cited the former U.S. President, Gen. Eisenhower, saying that if Pakistan put U.S.-supplied arms against India, the U.S. would stop all such aid. The U.S. must now react to a breach of a promise from Pakistan.

Chinese threat

He told the Council : "We are now threatened with invasion by China. The threat and menace of China looms larger than this war.

"I charge Pakistan with having launched upon this fight with India in the hope and expectation that China will be behind her and support her.

Then, sir, this is a war between two ideologies. Let's face it. On the one hand, you have the religious State. On the other, you have the secular State ... Kashmir is not the cause, it is a symptom.

"And it is also a war between a free society and dictatorship. It is in the interest of Asia and the world that our free society, our multilateral relation, should survive."

Ceasefire order

Noting U Thant's recommendation of a ceasefire order to the two nations, he asked : "Why the two nations ? ... this constant attempt at bracketing India and Pakistan together ... putting them on the same footing."

Of U Thant's recommendation that the Council declare a breach of peace in case of non-implementation of the orders, Mr. Chagla said the Council should, under Article 39, declare that Pakistan was an aggressor.

The Council, secondly, should make it impossible that such a thing should happen again, and. thirdly, that Pakistan should promise not to repeat aggression.

Chapter Twenty-Eight

WITH ONE HAND TIED !

Iron hand in a velvet glave
—*Charles V*

The Big Three were using an iron hand in a velvet glove to tiet the balance in favour of Pakistan. I entirely agree with the Editorial of the Indian Express dated September, 1965, that India was fighting the Pakistan Army "With On Hand Tied" :—

Conspicuous Contrast !

In conspicuous contrast to Soviet Russia, whose attitude in these critical days has been correct to both sides but fair and friendly to India when the occasion demanded and justified it, is the equivocal and often unfriendly attitude of Britain and the United States, more particularly the former. Not content with equating the aggressor and the attacked the Anglo-U.S. combine have sought at every step, within the UN and outside, to embarrass and even harass India to Pakistan's advantage and for her convenience.

One glaring example was provided during the latest meeting of the Security Council when, behind the smokescreen provided by Malaysia, the Anglo-Americans attempted to slip through a reference in the draft resolution to violation of the international line which was obviously directed unilaterally at India despite Pakistan's earlier incursion across the international line in the Chhamb sector. But for the vigilance of the Indian representative who made it clear that the wording of the resolution would dictate India's attitude to the meeting itself and the Soviet Union's warning to the sponsors that it would not accept a

resolution unacceptable to India or seeking to single her out, the Anglo-Americans might have got away with their subterranean monoeuvres.

To Tie India's Hand !

Other similar attempts to tie India's hand behind her back were checkmated by the Indian delegation's watchfulness and the unwavering support of Soviet Russia whose representative was significantly excluded from the inner councils of those busily hatching the draft resolution. Apparently Mr. Morozov was only presented by his colleagues with the falt accompli which he insisted on having revised. Thus Western efforts to enlarge U Thant's Mission from that of implementing resolutions dealing strictly with the cessation of hostilities to a mandate covering political problems were similarly opposed and defeated. Attempts to indirectly impugn India's sovereignty over Jammu and Kashmir were also successfully countered.

Loaded Against Us !

If, therefore, the resolution as it finally emerges from the Security Council is not loaded against us it is not because of the West's anxiety to be fairminded but because of the successful thwarting of Western efforts to tilt the scales heavily in Pakistan's favour by the vigilance of India and the friendly support of Soviet Russia. The Western policy of equating the aggressor with the attacked is again reflected in the U.S. decision to suspend temporarily its miiitary aid to both Pakistan and India, after being provided with the clearest possible evidence that in Kashmir, as in Kutch, Pakistan has flagrantly deployed and is deploying American Patton tanks and US Sabre jets against us. This despite the fact that such arms and equipment were given to Pakistan under the most solemn assurances to us that the USA would never acquiesce in their use against India. The alibi by Washington to cover this breach of undertaking is that both India and Pakistan are using American-supplied equipment, but it is an excuse which will convince no impartial observer and is unworthy of a great country like the United States. The use of napalm bombs by Pakistan in the Rajouri area of the Chhamb sector is another American contribution to an Asian ally for deployment against an Asian friend.

USA Unfriendly, UK Hostile !

If America's attitude in the crisis facing the entire sub-continent has not been overfriendly to India, that of Britain comes very near to being hostlle. Though the report that the British Government has asked India to return the equipment supplied to it during the Chinese aggression in 1962 is not confirmed at the moment of writing it would, if correct, be regarded by this country as a grossly hostile act. Mr. Harold Wilson has indulged in some extraordinary statements, expressing, among other things, "especial concern at the news that Indian forces have attacked Pakistani territory across the international frontier in Punjab." So far as we know and recall Mr. Wilson expressed no especial concern when Pakistan earlier crossed the international border in the Chhamb sector. The words of the British Prime Minister, particularly when addressed in terms of rebuke to a fellow-member of the Commonwealth, should surely be more carefully weighed in the present explosive temper and atmosphere. Mr. Wilson did neither Britain nor the Commonwealth a service by this impertinent piece of political buccaneering.

Chapter Twentynine

THANT-AYUB-SHASTRI CORRESPONDENCE

> Trust no future, however pleasant,
> Let the dead past bury its dead !
> Act,—Act in the living Present !
> Heart within and God overhead !
>
> —*Longfellow*

The victory of India over Pakistan did not intoxicate Prime Minister Shastri, although ironically enough Ayub and Bhutto were intoxicated by the defeat of Pakistan :

The correspondencc between the United Nations Secretary General U Thant and Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri demonstrated the sincerity of India. Mr. Shastri wanted an early end of fighting with Pakistan, while Pakistan's Foreign Minister, the most vocal and virulent figure throughout the war, dreamt of a thousand years of war, even when his armour was battered and his army beaten.

The following are the ideas of the editor of the Hindustan Times in his article "An Enduring Solution":—

India and Thant

India was prepared to accept an immediate end to hostilities at a time when her forces were poised to exploit a superiority they had won by hard fighting against the more modern equipment at Pakistan's command, India went into battle entirely in self-defence and our objectives have been repeatedly proclaimed as being limited to this single purpose of ensuring the security and integrity of our territory. But it is clearly native to think that those objectives have been achieved by

pushes into Pakistani territory at three or four points. Some other conditions have to be statisfied. They can be satisfied in only two ways. One is for Pakistan itself to accept that its own aggressive actions have changed the entire context of the problem and security requirements of Kashmir. The second is for the United Nations to pay due regard to this factor in any effort at a solution of the difficulties between India and Pakistan. U Thant's mission was concerned primarily with the short-term aspect of the cessation of the present state of hostilities between the two countries. It was a mission limited by the Security Council resolutions of September 4 and 6. He had no authority to negotiate or to hold out assurance of any kind. Even so, in his very first letter to the Prime Minister, U Thant referred to his mission as a "search for an enduring solution to the mutual problems of India and Pakistan." And it is because we in India are also in search of an "enduring solution" that we must look beyond a makeshift, negative absence of fighting and face squarely the longer term aspects of a stable future relationship between India and Pakistan.

Pak and Thant

President Ayub maintained in the discussions with U Thant that a plebiscite in Kashmir was a non-negotiable condition of a Pakistan acceptance of a cessation of hostilities. It is possible that this and the other two conditions mentioned in this connection will not be adhered to by Pakistan at later mediatory occasions. President Ayub's Press conference on Wednesday suggested a significant chastening of mood and it may be that, having committed ourselves in advance to the acceptance of U Thant's appeal without condition, we are moving towards an early cessation of hostilities. By all means we should welcome it. But in moving from a cessation of hostilities to a formal cease-fire we shall have to be very insistent in reminding the United Nations of those minimum conditions whose fulfilment alone can make for a lasting peace between India and Pakistan. Mr. Shastri referred to them in his letter to U Thant in these terms : "Let me make it perfectly clear... that when further details are considered we shall not agree to any disposition which will leave the door open for further infiltrations ... I would also like to state categorically that no pressures or attacks will deflect us from our firm resolve to

maintain the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country, of which the State of Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part."

Question of Questions

Such sentiments were expressed by India even before the new aggression begun by Pakistan on August 5 and the world is used to regarding them in the light of a maximum statement which nevertheless does not foreclose discussion or negotiation. This paper before August 5 ranged itself on the side of those who had not given up hope of a negotiated change in status for Kashmir which would be honourable and acceptable to the people of Kashmir, India and Pakistan. But is it possible to pretend that the new aggression by Pakistan has changed nothing in Kashmir and in India ? Can Security Council take up the question where it left off last year as though nothing has intervened ? It is possible to wish that we were writing on a new slate in Kashmir and to look for ideal solutions but foolish not to recognize that the slate has been cluttered up in the meanwhile by the insane antics of one party to the dispute. Mr. Dean Rusk's loyalty to past commitments in his reference to a plebiscite as a possible solution to the Kashmir dispute is in the new context an exercise in academics which saddens rather than irritates; and saddens not because of new difficulties in store for India on account of Kashmir but because a great opportunity is being lost of bringing world opinion on the side of confronting Pakistan with the new realities of the Kashmir situation and making it easier for that country to accept the limitations she has forced on herself for effective co-operation with India in an orderly solution in Kashmir. The United States will assuredly find other friends in the Security Council with an equal penchant for looking backwards. This will not change India's firm resolve not to deal with Pakistan as a party to the Kashmir dispute. What we are worried about is the question whether such exercises are calculated to contribute to that "enduring solution" that the Secretary-General of the United Nations had in mind.

Chapter Thirty

LONDON WANTED DELHI TO ACCEPT PINDI'S TERMS !

When Adam dolve, and Eve span,
Who was then the gentleman ?

Uncle Sam was more of a gentleman than John Bull in the Indo-Pakistan conflict !

Mr. K. C. Khanna, *The Times of India's* London correspondent, sent a revealing article on September 20, 1965:—

U.K. and China

The three-day extension of the time-limit in China's "ultimatum" to India was received in Whitehall today with undisguised relief. "Thank God," one Western observer told this correspondent, "the heat is off for the moment."

Bnt Indian observers here feel that the transparent purpose of China's diplomatic manoeuvre is to put pressure on India through Western Powers to concede Pakistani demands. There are signs that Britain, at any rate, is glad of the opportunity.

Before the Chinese ultimatum the British Government has been giving Indian diplomats here the impression that in its view the Chinese menace makes it imperative for New Delhi to "settle" with Pakistan. The plea that India could do no more than agree to an unconditional cease-fire without compromising its sovereignty over Kashmir was ignored. At the same time, Indian protests that the interruption of British arms aids to India would encourage the Chinese in their war-path were met with the argument that there were no signs of an impending Chinese attack.

No U.K. Aid !

Shortly after the Peking Note to India on Friday, the acting Indian High Commissioner, Mr. P. N. Haksar, met Sir Saville Gamer, Permanent Under-Secretary in the Commonwealth Relations Office, and drew the attention of the British Government to Chinese troop movements on the Sikkim border. He also pointed out that the blanket Anglo-American arms embargo was weighted against India inasmuch as Pakistan had the means to obtain essential military equipment and spare parts through Turkey and Iran. He reminded the British Government that none of its arms aid India had been receiving was used for any purpose other than defence against the Chinese. Whitehall, in fact, had acknowledged as much.

Mr. Haksar did not specifically ask for a resumption of British military supplies to India, but this was implied in his representation.

Sir Saville's response, it is believed here, was sympathetic but not positive. Similarly, the latest letter of the British Prime Minister, Mr. Wilson, to Mr. Shastri, according to reliable reports, dwelt both on the Chinese threat and the Indo-Pakistani conflict, but containd no commitment.

British Fencemanship

Whitehall officials, however, realised that the embittered Indian opinion would not tolerate Britain's fencemanship for long. They saw the need to co-ordinate policy with Washington, where the Indian Ambassador, Mr. B.K. Nehru, was believed to have specifically asked for the resumption of American military supplies in the event of Chinese attack.

That was why Mr. Cledwyn Hughes, Minister of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office, and Sir Saville left at once for talks in Washington. Mr. Hughes went on from there for the Commonwealth Finance Ministers' meeting in Jamaica, while Sir Saville returned to London with Sir Patrick Denn, the British Ambassador in Washington, soon after for further talks at 10, Downing Street.

The overall impression of Indian observers in London was that the British Government in these consultations would use its influence in Washington to impress on the State Department that a possible resumption of arms supplies to India should be accompanied by a corresponding gesture towards Pakistan. Britain, despite the writing on the wall, appeared to be unwilling to face the logic of the Sino-Pakistani collusion.

Chapter Thirty-One

WHEN TASHKENT WAS BORN !

'Tis sweet to hear the watchdog's honest bark
Bay deep-mouth'd welcome as we draw near home
—*Byron*

Tashkent was born at Moscow on September 20, 1965 when the Soviet Union proposed a meeting between the Prime Minister Shastri and the President Ayub on the Soviet soil to resolve the India-Pakistan conflict.

14 Kilometres from India !

The proposal was made in the Soviet Premier's letters to Indian and Pakistani leaders which envisaged Premier Kosygin's participation in their meeting if both sides agreed.

It is proposed that Mr. Shastri and President Ayub might meet in Tashkent, capital of the biggest Soviet-Central Asian Republic Uzbekistan.

Both leaders visited it during their separate tours of the Soviet Union early in 1965.

Uzbekistan and Tashkent have very old cultural ties with the Indian sub-continent.

Further, Uzbekistan is only about 14 kilometres from the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir.

There is only a bit of Afghan territory that separates the Soviet border from the Indian border.

An offer of "good offices" had already been made twice by the Soviet Union since a Note to the two leaders sent almost two weeks ago on September 4.

The Kremlin action is seen as a move to try to get a quick

solution to the crisis in an attempt to prevent China making capital out of what it alleges is Russia's collusion with "Indian aggression."

Warning to Peking

Russia, in a thinly-veiled warning to Peking, strongly condemned "incendiary statements" aimed at fanning the conflict between India and Pakistan.

"No Government has any right to add fuel to the flames," a Kremlin statement said.

But on Saturday China threw this accusation back at the Soviet Union with a sharp report in the People's Daily.

"If there are people adding fuel to the flames......they are precisely the Soviet leaders, in addition to the U.S. imperialists," the newspaper said.

Spokesmen for both Indian and Pakistan embassies said later that all comments on the Soviet offer would have to come from their respective capitals.

Neither embassy could give any indication of what the official reaction of their Governments would be.

Informed Indian sources said Mr. Kosygin's invitation was not considered an effort to bypass the United Nations but rather a clarification of what was meant by "good offices."

The Indian Government had sought a clarification of the term from the Kremlin, the sources indicated.

They said the offer made no suggestion of any time for the proposed meeting.

Chapter Thirty-Two

UNITED NATIONS ORDER PEACE !

I prefer the most unfair peace
to the most righteous war,
—*Cicero*

On September 20, 1965 the Security Council demanded that India and Pakistan halt their fighting by 12.30 hours IST on Wednesday.

The vote was 10 in favour, nine against, and one abstention, Jordan.

Back to August 5th Line

The resolution also called upon the Governments of India and Pakistan to issue orders for a cease-fire at 12-30 hours IST on Wednesday "and a subsequent withdrawal of all armed personnel back to the positions held by them before August 5, 1965."

It further requested the Secretary-General "to provide the necessary assistance to ensure supervision of the cease-fire and withdrawal of all armed personnel" and called on all States to refrain from "any action which might aggravate the situation in the area."

The Council also decided to consider what steps could be taken to help towards a settlement of the political problem underlying the present conflict once the cease-fire had been achieved.

The Netherlands earlier introduced a draft resolution which demanded an end to the fighting between India and Pakistan by 12-30 p.m. (I.S.T.) Wednesday.

Mr. J. G. De Beus, the Netherlands delegate, putting the draft to the Council said it was in much stronger language than previous resolutions which appealed for a cease-fire.

"The draft demands that it take effect on a given date and at a given hour", he said. He then gave the time of 12-30 hours I.S.T. on Wednesday.

The text of the draft was not immediately available to the Press.

Pakistan Agrees !

Pakistan accepted the Security Council resolution on September 22nd, only a few hours before the dead line.

The time of cease-fire was extended to 3-30 a.m. IST on Thursday.

Pakistan's announcement was in the form of a message from President Ayub Khan, which his Foreign Minister. Mr. Z. A. Bhutto, read at the end of a long, emotional speech.

Field-Marshall Ayub Khan declared that the Council's cease-fire resolution was unsatisfactory but that he was agreeing to end the fighting in the interest of international peace.

Mr. Bhutto warned that the Council should now find a political solution to the long standing deadlock over Kashmir. If it failed to resolve the dispute, he said, Pakistan would be forced to withdraw from the U.N.

The message was received by Mr. Bhutto at 11-30 a.m. IST—an hour before the original deadline for the case-fire.

Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg, Council President, said that the cease-fire agreement made this a great day for the U.N. The cease-fire must be a prelude to a political settlement, he added.

Mr. Bhutto said that he had requested a Council meeting because "the issues which face us are so basic, so fundamental, that it is necessary for us to discuss them".

Attack on India

He said that Pakistan was grateful to U Thant, the Council and all peace-loving countries "for taking an interest in a war we do not want...and imposed upon us by a predatory aggressor".

Mr. Bhutto launched into an attack upon India accusing it of a long-term campaign aimed at the destruction of Pakistan. He said that this dated from the very division of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan.

"We are not interested in war, we are not interested in aggression...We want peace, our resources are limited," he said.

Mr. Bhutto said that while they agreed to the cease-fire, the Council must now muster "all its force...and all its responsibility for a fair and honourable settlement of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute".

If now the U.N. did not use its full force, morality and weight for a settlement, "then Pakistan will have to leave the U.N."

Chapter Thirty-Three

PEACE AT LONG LAST !

The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid.

—*Isaiah. XI. 6*

Peace at last dawned on the Indian sub-continent and the peoples of the countries could enjoy a peaceful sleep at night and a sleepy day.

These are comments of the Hindustan Times :—

All quiet on the Western Front !

Peace is with us again on the western front with Pakistan and, very probably, on the northern front with China. China had timed its threats principally to keep Pakistan in the war and prolong it so as to serve its own obvious interest of a weakened and unstable Indian subcontinent. China will now have little stomach for taking on the undivided strength of India with Pakistan eliminated as a factor inhibiting assistance from friendly powers.

China Retreats !

In the knowledge of Pakistan's agreement of a cease-fire, China has already prepared for a retreat from its ultimatum by the invention of an Indian amend for a provocation that never existed. But nothing as dependable as a cease-fire with Pakistan is available with China. When it suits Chinese interests, the requisite provocations will be again fabricated. We cannot lower our guard on the northern front.

But let us be thankful that there is peace with Pakistan. It

is not a tidy peace but tidy solutions to problems do not result from war. A great many question marks remain and will presently plague us with their complexity when we turn to study the more permanent arrangements in the relations with Pakistan. Fortunately, we entered the war in self-defence and gave ourselves no extravagant objectives. In the three weeks that the fighting has lasted, we have achieved those objectives in great part. The Pakistan military machine has been badly mauled and will not hurriedly return to an aggressive posture. We have also seen tremendous gains accrue to us on the home front. The common danger produced an impressive unity, submerging communal and political differences in a disciplined response to the duties of civilians in wartime. We have added to our sense of self-respect in nationhood. But in talking with pride of these achievements, let us remember to do homage to that small section of the population who inspired and brought out the best in us behind the frontline. The price they paid in gallantry and courage has not been a small one.

Difficult Decisions

There are difficult decisions ahead of us. We must approach them not with the arrogance of triumph but the humility of reason. If peace hath its victories no less renowned than war, peace also has its problems no less intricate than of war. Pakistan has not helped towards a calmer mood in India for deliberation on these problems by its savage raid on Amritsar after the proclamation of the cease-fire announcement. We must show ourselves more responsible and remember that a peace that leaves a trail of bitterness behind will not endure. Nor will one, based on unrealistic expectations such as Mr. Bhutto has expressed. We wrote two weeks ago when Indian troops first crossed into Pakistan's Punjab : "When the conflict ends there will still be a Pakistan with which we must live." We add today, there is also an India with which Pakistan must learn to live.

Chapter Thirty-Four

LESSONS OF INDO-PAKISTAN WAR

Sweet are the uses of adversity ;
Which, like the toad, ugly and venomous,
Wears yet a precious jewel in his head.

—*Shakespeare*

What has the strategic issue in the war between India and Pakistan ? Ayub Khan believed, like Mao Tse-tung, that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. India demonstrated convincingly that the Sino-Pak theory of political power is wrong.

"If the Pakistanis", said a military expert of great experience, "had the spirit and training of the Indians, especially the Pakistani air and tank contigents, or if the Indians had had the planes and tanks of Pakistanis, why then a decision would have been inevitable. One or the other side would have definitely won. Asit is, there's a draw, rather strongly in favour of Indians, but still a draw. That push towards Akhnoor in the Chamb area, that the Indians should never have permitted ; once the Pakistanis had got in, the Indians should have concentrated air-power on destroying the tanks and pushed the Pakistanis right out of Jammu. They didn't, with the result that Ayub Khan now says he holds 200 square miles of Jammu and won't get out of that. An error in generalship that was, it seems to me ; probably the only real one, though, on the Indian side."

Pindi-Peking Axis

The Pakistani chiefs were foolish in the extreme in relying on Communist China to pull their chestnuts out of the fire.

They should have appreciated the ideological gulf between a fanatical Communist regime and an American-propped military power.

It was not correct for Ayub Khan to straddle across a Yankee yak and a Peking pony. Neither could take him to the Royal Fountain (Chismashahi) in Srinagar. Deception does not pay. Peking, the pastmaster of deception, cannot be deceived by a novice dictator.

Right was the cartoon in the "*Hindustan Times*" entitled the "Lovers' Leap" in which "Madam" Chou En-Lai pushes down a precipice Mr. Ayub Khan, promising to follow later. Which she never did !

British Reactions !

It is deplorable that Prime Minister Wilson should have expressed regret about India's marching into Pakistan when he expressed no regret about Pakistan's marching into India. But need that upset us so terribly ?

As Mr. A.D. Gorwala puts it : "Who is Wilson, what is he, that we should all regard his words as if they were a pronouncement from on high ? (And the same could be asked about Johnson or Kosygin or any other high foreign potentate who inclined to express disapproval generally). Wilson wrote to Shastri—Shastri can, if he has n't already, write back to him saying, 'You are wrong. I disapprove heartily of your disapproval which is misplaced for these reasons.' But is there anything gained by getting up at the Ramlila grounds and expiating at length to a huge crowd on the enormity of Wilson's conduct and the liking of the British for Pakistan ? Who is being persuaded and of what ? Is any Indian purpose served by arousing feeling against British for Wilson's undoubtedly stupid letter ? And if this exacerbation is felt to be essential, if the good of India is in any way tied up with it, would n't it have been better to have refused the nineteen million pound loan, free of interest, repayment to begin seven years hence, that was accepted only three days ago ? If you take favours from a man, you don't go round proclaiming from a public platform that he is a scoundrel, not according to our Indian code of behaviour at least."

Pak-U.K. China

"The Military diplomacy of Red China", says S. Natarajan, has fitted in well with the peace offensive of the United States of America and Britain. Mr. Stewart, British Foreign Secretary, while conventionally disturbed at Peking's ultimatum to New Delhi, most unconventionally uttered the hope that this pressure would hasten an India-Pakistan acceptance of the UN's stop-fighting demand".

There is no doubt there existed some kind of understanding not only between Peking and Pindi and Pindi and London but also between London and Peking about Ayub Khan's misadventure in Kashmir. Both London and Peking helped Pakistan to pull its chestnuts out of the Indian Army's fire.

Mr. Stewart's prognosis has been confirmed by the events. Pakistan has reinforced its case by violent demonstrations against USA, UK and UN establishments on its territory, and by the threat to quit UN if it does not have its way.

"If one is expected to take the United Nations seriously, the glossaries to the UN resolutions provided by American and British official spokesmen have sinister understones."

American Strategy in Kashmir

In 1954 diplomatic success was scored by Pakistan in persuading other SEATO members to drop the qualifying word Communist before aggression. The Americans were confident of their ability to restrain Pakistan from using aided weapons against non-Communist territories. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru despaired of any possibility of communicating to President Eisenhower his apprehensions. In the United Nations itself Dr. Frank Graham felt that five years of progress towards a Kashmir settlement had been rendered useless by changing the SEATO resolution.

Fearing that America might wish to include Kashmir in its global strategy for fighting International Communism, India successfully pleaded for the removal of American nationals from the UN Observers' team along the Kashmir cease-fire line.

Mr. Nehru himself represented that demilitarization of Kashmir had become meaningless in the context of the heavy

militarization of Pakistan. In answer to President Eisenhower's suggestion that India too could secure the benefits of US military aid by joining the US Military Mutual Security System, Mr. Nehru observed that it was a proposal that did less than justice both to President Eisenhower and to his own Government.

As a consenquence of these developments India gained Soviet Russia support at the UN Security Council, which has been a steady and steadying factor in the chessboard of world politics on which Kashmir is a mere pawn. By trying to secure Kashmir for their Pakistani stooge, the Anglo-American Bloc has practically lost India to International Communism.

Chapter Thirty-Five

SHASTRI DESTROYS A PATTON !

> Rides in the whirlwind and directs the storm.
>
> —*Addison*

Throughout the war, Prime Minister Shastri rode the whirlwind and directed a storm !

On his birthday, October 2nd (the same as Gandhiji's), he "destroyed" a Patton tank.

The birthday cake he cut in the presence of a friendly gathering was a replica of a Patton tank.

The giant-sized cake was olive green and had all the parts of a tank delicately fitted on to it.

"I have also destroyed a tank", said Mr. Shastri humoursly.

The tank was sent to be distributed to the jawans.

Fight for Secularism

Prime Minister Shastri told Western critics on September 26th to remember that religion had no place in Indian politics.

Addressing the first public meeting after cease-fire Mr. Shastri referred to a BBC broadcast which said that "Mr. Shastri is a Hindu and that is why he has started the war against a Muslim country."

The war was in fact between a Secular India and a theocratic Islamic Pakistan.

"We fought for the preservation of the ideal of secularism," Mr. Shastri said.

This was best manifested by the people belonging to all faiths and communities who rose as a man to face the Pakistani aggressor.

"Whether it is a challenge from Pakistan or China", said Shastri, "we will resist it as Indians and not as Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs or Christians."

Land Gains of India

At the time of the cease-fire, India had gained control of three posts in Kargil, about 200 square miles of territory in the Uri-Poonch loop. 20 square miles in the Tithwal sector, 180 square mile in the Sialkot sector, 140 square miles in the Lahore sector, and 150 square miles in the Rajasthan-Sind sector.

Pakistan had occupied 190 square miles in the Chhamb area of Jummu, 20 square miles in the Punjab and number of posts in the Rajasthan desert.

These facts were given by the Army Chief at a press conference on September 24th.

———

Chapter Thirty-Six

VORTEX OF WORLD WAVES

> You will never have a quiet world till you knock the patriotism out of the human race.
>
> —*George Bernard Shaw*

As soon as the typhoon of war was over, India became a vortex of international tycoons, mounting medley of diplomatic pressures, warnings and counsels. It became a supreme test of the Indian morale and clear-sightedness.

As Ajit Bhattacharjea wrote from Washington : "The loyalty of Kashmiri inhabitants, the courage and tactical superiority of the Indian armed forces, and the determination and unity of India's people and leaders have been tested and found true. But no respite is in sight. In fact, diplomatic pressures are likely to increase now that hostilities have ceased."

Challenges to India

India's integrity went through many challenges. Our leaders required a clear and unsentimental analysis of international motives.

We needed a vivid projection of India's motives abroad so as to remove scope tor miscalculation by defining areas that are negotiable in the interest of peace and those that are not negotiable under any circumstances.

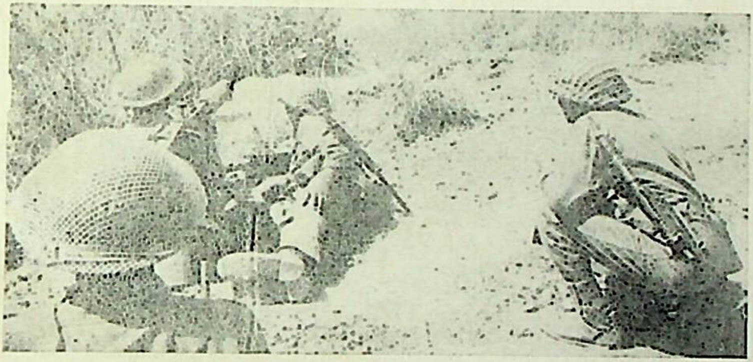
Many Misconceptions

Many misconceptions were removed by events. And one

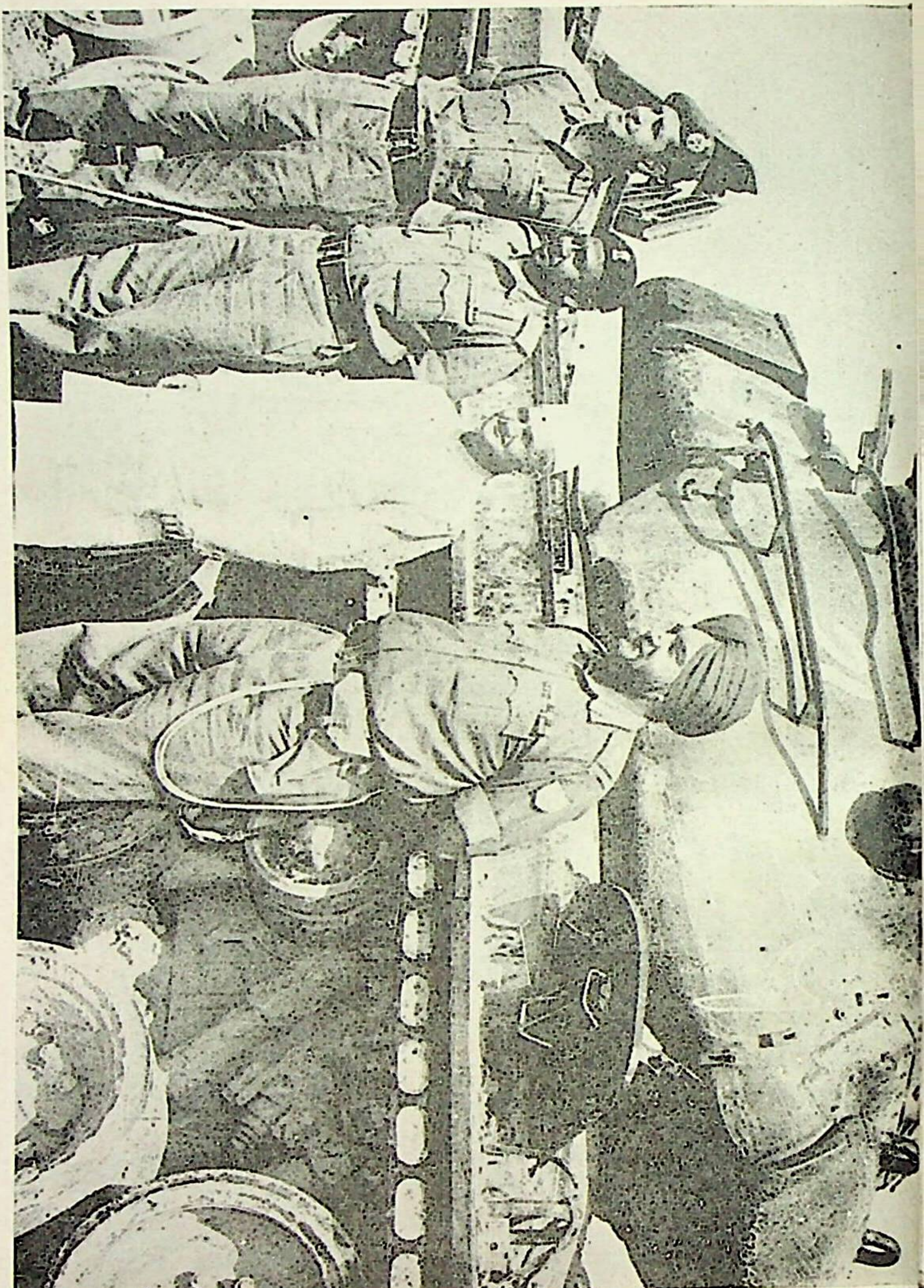


Jaurian Mosque Damaged by Pakistani Air Attack

A 200-year old mosque at Jaurian, in the Chhamb sector, was damaged as a result of Wanton Pakistani air attack on September 2.



Jawans manning a machine gun post waiting to give covering fire to our advancing troops in the Lahore sector.

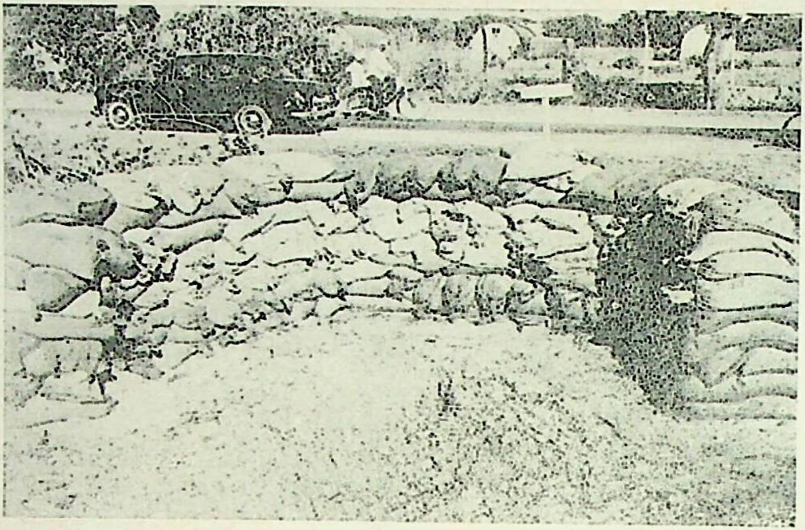




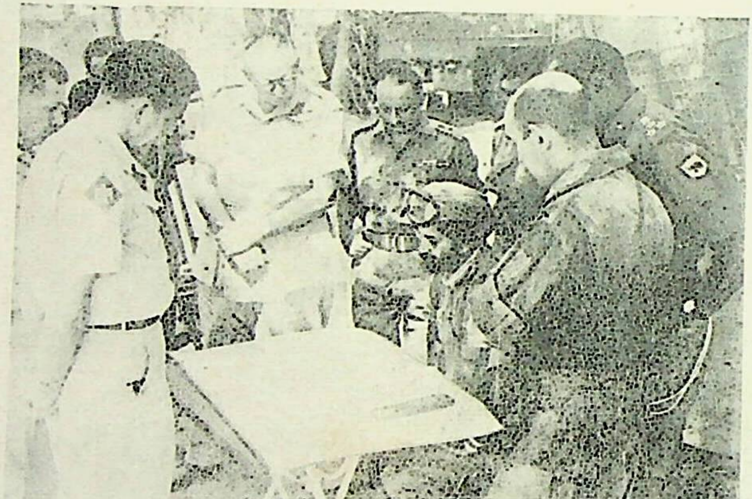
Sadhu Donates Woolen Rug for the Jawans

Among the many visitors who called on Shrimati Indira Gandhi, was a Sadhu from Swami Chaitanya Ashram, who donated his only belonging—a woollen rug.

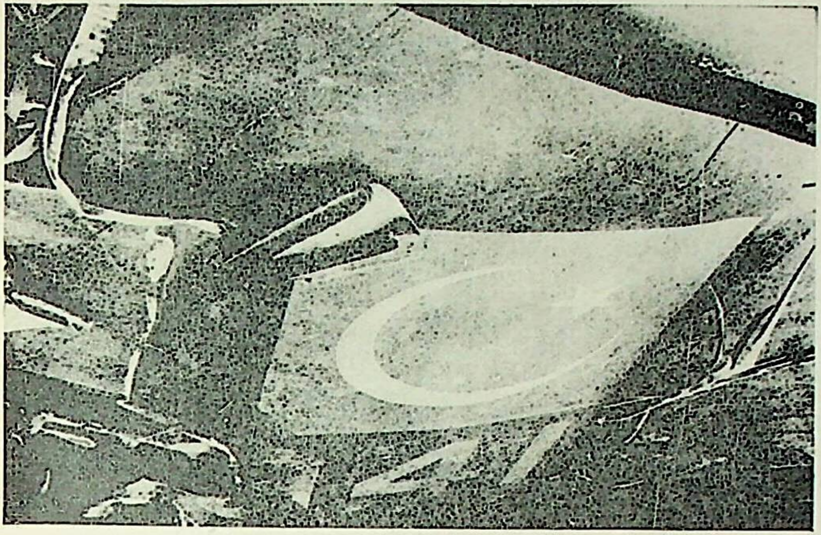




An unexploded bomb burried in Halwara area.



Military Attaches of five countries Burma, Canada, France, Italy, and the U.S.A. visited army units in forward area of Sialkot sector last week.



Photograph of parts of a Pakistan Air Force B-57 bomber, with P.A.F. identification markings. The Pakistani bomber was shot down by the Indian Air Force, when approaching Jullundur to carry out a bombing raid over it.



The Defence Minister, Shri Y. B. Chavan, being shown some of the captured ammunition and a Pakistani Patton tank at Dograi on the Ichhogil canal which he visited on September 26, 1965

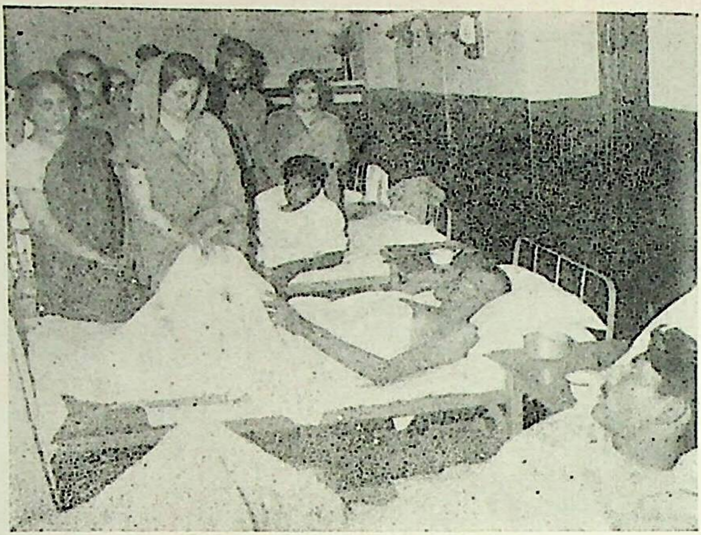
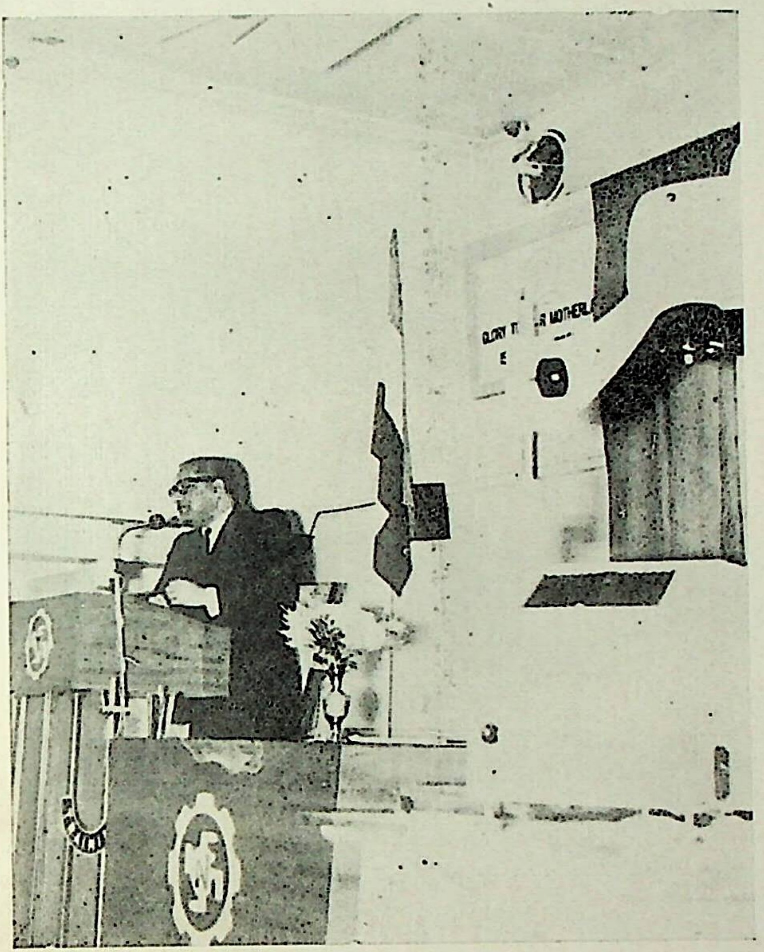
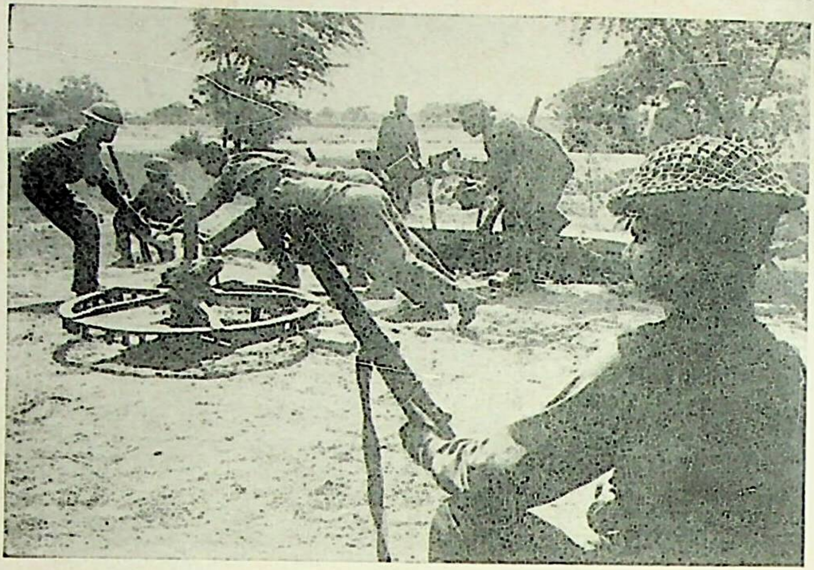


Photo shows Shrimati Gandhi comforting a wounded aged civilian at the Military Hospital, Amritsar.

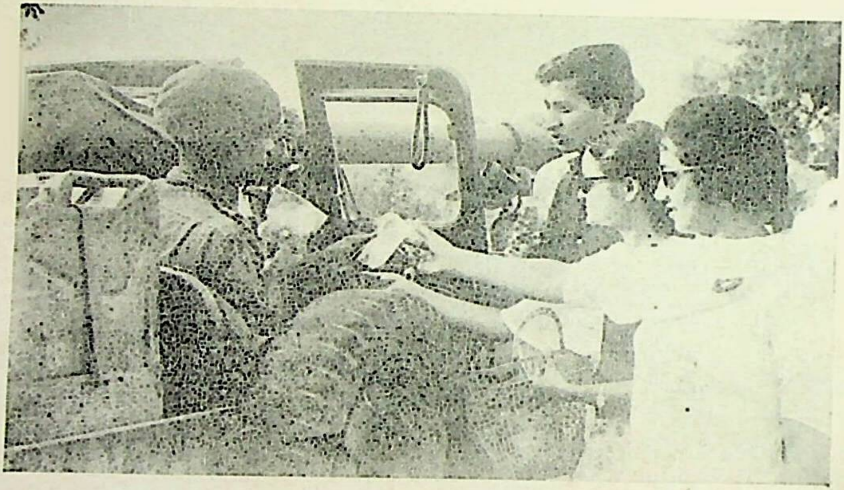


Wreckage of a Pakistani Plan.


GLORY



Jawans help themselves in drawing fresh water from a *Rehet* (Persian wheel) near Dera Baba Nanak.



On the Front
Cheers ! Cheers ! All the way !

after another the plans Pakistan based on these misconceptions were frustrated and exposed to the world.

First was the assumption that the Kashmiris were ready to join Pakistan infiltrators and make it impossible for India to retain the valley. This proved false and was exposed to the world.

Second was the presumption that Pakistani soldiers and armaments were superior to those of India. The bubble burst.

Third was the fantasy that China will open the second front to help Pakistan win the war.

All these proved false, fallacious and fanciful. But the international champions of Pakistan were still head-hunting for India !

Trials are not over ?

India's standing in world affairs soared today as the discomfiture of the twin challenges posed by Pakistan and China was exposed to world view.

At the United Nations Pakistani Foreign Minister Z. A. Bhutto cut a sorry figure. He was obliged to accept the Security Council cease-fire demand five minutes before the time-limit expired after telling reporters on arrival at New York airport that he was not carrying his Government's acceptance of the ceasefire.

Mr. Bhutto's threat to quit the U.N. and join hands with China and Indonesia revealed the depths of Pakistani frustration. Desptte his dramatic appearance he was unable to gain any binding assurances from the Council.

Pakistan's last-minute compliance was also a major reverse for Peking's much-advertised efforts to expand and exploit the conflict. China's search for excuses to withdraw her own ultimatum to India again proved her bark to be considerably worse than her bite.

This, combined with the strong tone of Prime Minister Shastri's speeches in Parliament and the excellent showing of India's armed forces against Pakistan have served to eradicate the humiliating impression left by the military reverses India suffered in 1962.

India's trials ore not over. Pakistan would seek to pressurize the Security Council into forcing some form of plebiscite in Kashmir and the remarks of U.S. representative Arthur Goldberg indicate it would get a measure of support.

But after India's convincing demonstration of understanding political leadership, military strength and national determination it is far better placed than before to resist such pressures. If India continues to stand firm on basic principles while showing willingness to seek peaceful adjustment of differences with Pakistan the Council is not likely to thrust unacceptable terms down her throat.

Ayub's Ashes

The Pakistani President, Field Marshal Ayub Khan, in a special broadcast to the nation told Pakistanis: "I have ordered the armed forces to cease fire from 8 a.m. (local time Thursday) and they will not fire on the enemy so long as they are not fired upon."

He said: "Our forces will, however, stay in position for the time being, until asked to move out."

President Ayub said: "It was only after India attacked us on Sept. 6 that we accepted the challenge and have shown our worth."

But, he said, for the sake of a lasting peace the United Nations will have to find a permanent solution of the Kashmir problem.

He said he had ordered the ceasefire in the interests of international peace, and hoped it would lead India and Pakistan to an honourable settlement.

AFP added :

President Ayub said: "Our struggle is not yet over, instead it enters a new phase."

He paid a special tribute to communist China the memory of whose attitude, he said, Pakistan would always "cherish."

Chapter Thirty-Seven

MATHEMATICS OF POWER POLITICS

> The world is like a board with holes in it, and the square men have got into the round holes, and the round into the square.
>
> —*Bishop Berkeley*

The global struggle for political power today is not between Capitalism and Communism or Dictatorship and Democracy. The struggle today is for a political balance of power. That is why U.S.A. (Democracy) has propped Pakistan (Dictatorship) even though it has aligned itself with China (Communism). That is why Russia (Communist) is supporting India (Democratic). That is why Britain and India, both democracies, are on the opposite sides in the Indo-Pakistan War. Outwardly, though Britain is aligned with U.S.A., it is supporting both Pakistan and China in their war against India. In fact, Britain is sitting on the hedge, and in any serious clash between Washington and Moscow, it might pass on to the latter beam of the power politics.

Global Equation

U.K.+U.S.A.=U.S.S.R.

U.S.A.+U.K.+India+Pakistan+Nato+Seato=U.S.S.R.+China

That is why U.S.A. is honestly interested in the settlement of the Kashmir problem, but U.K. is not, because Britain has its own equation of power.

Vietnam, the journal says, now China has given both countries "something to collaborate about".

"Even the Pakistanis may soon be wondering just how grateful to China they really are", it is added.

The 'Karachi' rioters, who waved portraits of Chou-En-Lai while tearing down the U.N. flags, "may have been expecting the imminent arrival of the Chinese Army with snow on its boots. It did not come. Now they are liable to ask just what China has done for them.

"There are three places where China promised not to stand idly by, and then they have done first that—the Formosa front, Vietnam, and now the Himalayas. For a coiner of phrases about paper tigers, it is embarrassing."

The "Economist" sums up : "The salutary thing is that everyone has had a nasty shock. The Pakistanis discovered that one Pakistani is not worth three Indians after all, and have had second thoughts about the value of calling in the Chinese to restore the balance.

"The Indians have realized that holding off two different enemies on two fronts at once is an uncomfortable business. The Americans and Russians have seen those Chinese finger tips appearing over the Himalayas again and do not like them."

But, declares the paper, it was essential that not one should gloss over the danger China threatened, or act now as if China did not mean business.

Dhoti versus Pant

"I am not a Marshal and I wear a dhoti. That may be the reason why Pakistan considers India weak," remarked Prime Minister Shastri at Aurangabad on October 18th.

Addressing the Citizens' Defence Committee, he added, "Defence Minister Chavan also wears a dhoti. Dhoti-clad people have defended their country and marched up to Lahore."

Mr. Shastri said Pakistan had also miscalculated that dhoti-clad Prime Minister of India would rush to the Security Council if it attacked India.

———

PM's Message

SOLIDARITY DAY

Prime Minister's House,
New Delhi, October 10, 1965

We have just been through a war. It was not of our asking. There was also a threat of another, but we stood firm and the danger has, for the time being, receded. We have had some really hard and difficult times. And yet, for the nation, these were golden days which fused it into one and made it as a wall of steel. All these days we have been talking of solidarity. Now we know what solidarity is. The nation and the world have seen solidarity in action during the past few fateful weeks.

We will have to become strong. We have to be self-sufficient in food, we have to develop our industries and technology, and we have to become self-reliant in other things that matter. For all this, very hard work on the part of everyone is needed. Many sacrifices shall have to be made. For some time, we shall have to go without many comforts. The supreme sacrifice made by our officers and jawans will be remembered for a long time to come. The lion-hearted people of the Punjab and the other border States of Jammu & Kashmir, Rajasthan and Gujarat have shown how our civil population is prepared to acquit itself. These efforts and these sacrifices have to be matched by everyone, big or small. The guns are silent for a while, but it is a very uneasy peace that sits on our borders. Eternal vigilance is the price we shall have to pay for our freedom.

It gladdens my heart to see the awakening in the country today. The nation has stood against the Chinese and Pakistani aggressions as one man, forgetting completely the differences of caste and creed. The danger is not yet over and there are difficult times ahead. The spirit of unique solidarity shown during the past few days shall have to be kept up. As long as this spirit prevails, we need fear no foe. May this spirit prevail for ever.

For the past two years, we have been observing October 20th as National Solidarity Day. This year this date has added significance for us. Let us strive with all our might that our unity and our emotional integration may further grow, bringing glory to the nation through strength, determination and a united common will and destiny.

Sd/- Lal Bahadur Shastri

CHRONOLOGY OF INDO-PAKISTAN WAR

August, 1965

5—Large-scale Pakistan armymen infiltrate into Kashmir Valley. Emergency cabinet meeting decides to reinforce security measures.

10—U.N. and other countries informed of grave implications.

11—Arrested infiltrators brought to Delhi for interrogation.

12—Fighting with Pakistan infiltrators continues. The U.N. Observer start investigations on Kashmir incidents. Shastri warns Pakistan of using force to meet force.

15—Pakistan's guerillas are controlled by Chinese officers; Shastri terms Pakistan's infiltration as an attack on India.

16—Indian forces recapture two posts in Kargil. Pakistan designs on Leh Road foiled.

17—U.K. and U.S.A. pronounce Kashmir clashes as "Local War".

20—Over 800 Pakistani raiders killed and captured in Kashmir up to date.

21—Pakistan mounts another attack in Kargil sector. Two Pakistani attacks in Chhamb Sector beaten back. Pak Army attack on Mendhar repulsed.

21—Kashmir situation grave. Shastri decides to attack Pakistan bases if necessary.

25—Indian forces cross cease-fire line and capture two Pakistani posts.

27—Shastri's call for readiness to meet grave situation in Kashmir. Pak army shells Uri-Poonchh sectors. Pak shelling in Tithwal area silenced by the Indian guns.

30—Indian forces capture strategic Uri Pass and seven other posts.

31—Fresh troops sent to Uri to consolidate positions. India rules out any talks with Pindi till infiltrators are withdrawn.

September, 1965

1—Pak troops cross International Border and launch heavy attack on Chhamb Sector in Jammu. U. Thant holds Pakistan responsible for the trouble. I.A.F. fighters drive away Pak jets from Chhamb.

2—U.S.A. and U.K. back U. Thant's call for truce in Kashmir.

3—Air battles over Chhamb continue. Jawans capture new posts.

4—Chen Yi, China's Foreign Minister reaches Karachi for talks with Pakistan leaders.

5—Security Council calls for cease-fire; Pak jets raid Amritsar.

6—Indian troops march out into Lahore Sector.

7—Pakistan extends air battle all over border. China threatens to enter war. Ayub declares total war on India.

8—Indian Army crosses into Pakistan from Barmer Sector of Rajasthan and Jammu sector. Pakistan drops airtroopers into India.

9—Jakarta mob ransacks Indian Embassy. Pak attacks in Lahore sector repulsed.

10—Indian Army cross Ravi over Dera Baba Nanak Bridge; U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. jointly seek peace.

11—U. Thant arrives in India for talks; Turkish arms worth Rs. 5 million sent for Pakistan.

12—Pakistan loses 55 tanks in a fierce battle. Jawans advance upto Mirpur.

13—Prime Minister Shastri warns Pakistan that force would never be allowed to succeed.

14—Mr. Shastri makes it clear to Pakistan that Kashmir is not negotiable.

15—Lahore air space comes under Indian control. Heavy blows to Pakistan by Indian Air Force. Pak raiders hit U.N. plane in Kashmir.

16—P.M. reports to Parliament. All parties back his action.

17—U. Thants asks Security Council to order peace. Heavy fighting in Sialkot Sector. India ready to face China also.

18—China moves troops to Ladakh. Indian forces capture Haji Pir Pass.

19—China extends ultimatum to India by three days; reiterates support to Pakistan. India captures more posts in Sialkot sector.

20—U.N. Orders peace by September 21st. Pak Bombers destroy Ambala church. Indian forces knock down a total of 405 Pakistan tanks.

21—India accepts cease-fire. Indian Army tames Pak forces everywhere. Ayub talks of love and non-violence.

22—India and Pakistan agree to ceasefire at 3 A.M. on September 23rd.

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CALENDAR OF PAK AGGRESSION ON INDIA

1947

When after the partition India's Government waited for the Government of Jammu and Kashmir to make up its mind on accession, Pakistan decided to secure accession by force. An economic blockade of Kashmir was imposed in violation of the Standstill Agreement Pakistan had entered into with the Maharaja of the State. Supplies of food, petrol and other essential commodities were cut off, communications tampered with and passenger traffic hindered. Border raids were organised and Pakistan nationals began to infiltrate into the state territory.

On October 15 began a seize of Fort Owen : nearly 5,000 Pakistani raiders participated in these operations. In less than a week infiltration and raids were transformed into a full-scale military attack upon Jammu and Kashmir. On October 4 the Government of Kashmir sent an urgent appeal to the Government of India requesting that the State be allowed to accede to India. The leadership of the National Conference, headed by Sheikh Abdulla, endorsed this appeal. Accepting the Instrument of Accession signed by the Maharaja, Government of India rushed forces to Kashmir on Oct. 27 when the Pakistani invaders had already reached the outskirts of Srinagar. Jinnah who expected to "ride in triumph" into Kashmir was frustrated.

1948

On January, 1 India lodged a complaint in the Security Council against Pakistani aggression. Pakistan cast doubts on the legality of the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India by the brazen suggestion that the accession had been obtained by fraud and violence. Fighting between the Indian and Pakistani troops continued throughout the year.

Persistent migration of the minority from East Pakistan into West Bengal reached its peak in September and October, aggravating tension between the two countries.

1949

Ceasefire in Kashmir came into force on January 1. But tension between the two countries continued due to the problem of minorities. In the course of discussion on evacuee properties Pakistan insisted on impossible conditions.

1950

Talks with UN representative on Kashmir entered into difficulties. Renewed discussion in the Security Council provided Pakistan an opportunity to repeat false allegations against India.

Boundary disputes on the eastern borders between East Bengal and West Bengal and Assam were heard by the Judicial Commission set up under in Indo-Pak agreement.

Communal riots broke out in East Bengal and there was a large exodus of the minority.

1951

Pakistan protested against Kashmir's preparation for holding Constituent Assembly elections. Pakistani forces violated the ceasefire line and Pakistani leaders made war propaganda against India. India protested at the Security Council against Pakistans persistent violations of the ceasefire agreement.

To whip up a war psychosis civil defence preparations were taken up in Pakistan.

1952

Pakistan introduced passport system and imposed other restrictions on travellers to India.

The West Punjab Chief Minister, Mian Mumtaz Daulatana declared : "If the UN proves to be a band of thieves, we will have nothing to do with it. We will prove that we can liberate Kashmir with the strength of our arms".

1953

US-Pakistan military aid agreement further vitiated relations between India and Pakistan.

1955

On May 7 Pakistan border police attacked a group of Indian civilians near an Indian village, Nekowal, on the Jammu-West Pakistan border. Twelve Indian nations, were killed and one injured. UN observers declared that Pakistan had violated that border.

1956

There were two major border incidents during the year. In February, Pakistan attempted to occupy forcibly the Indian territory of Chhad Bet in the Rann of Kutch. In March Pakistan border police tried to advance their positions in certain sectors on the border between Punjab and West Pakistan in the vicinity of the Ferozepur headworks. The Government of Pakistan addressed letters to the Security Council calling for further consideration of the Kashmir question.

Migration of the minority from East Pakistan assumed alarming proportions during the year.

1957

A major border incident took place at Metla (Punjab) on October 17 when a body of Pakistani Khaksars ambushed a party of the Punjab Armed Police petrol.

1958

On the western border near Fazilka, seven members of the Punjab Armed Police were shot by Pakistan border authorities while holding discussions with their Pakistani counterparts under a white flag meeting on June 3. The frequency and intensity of border incidents was highest during June and July.

Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan met in September.

1959

The year opened with increased tension in border areas, particularly in the East. Five Indian nationals were killed, 60 injured and 48 kidnapped.

An I.A.F. Canbera aircraft, which had strayed into Pakistan air space owing to a navigational error. was shot down on April 10 without warning.

Attempts at subversion and sabotage by Pakistani agents in Kashmir continued. More than 70 cases of bomb explosions were reported ; 221 Pak infiltrators into Kashmir were intercepted.

1960

Subversion and sabotage in Kashmir organised from Pakistan claimed four lives besides inflicting inquiries on 12 persons. Border police intercepted 254 infiltrators.

1961

Pakistanis kidnapped Lt. Col. Bhattacharya in April. Indian officials engaged in joint demarcation of the India-East Pakistan borders were harassed.

Pakistan armed forces were responsible for 405 incidents along or across the cease-fire line till the end of November. More than 150 infiltrators were intercepted.

Serious communal riots broke out in Khulna, Jessore and Gopalganj.

1962

Continued encroachment by the Pakistan rifles at Daikhata in Jalpaiguri (West Bengal) since June 1962. Breaches of the status quo by the Pakistani forces in the Latitilla area South of Patharia Reserve forest on the Assam-East Pakistan border. Pakistani encroachment in Tripura in the "disputed area" between Asalong and Ranga Feni, on the upper reaches of Feni river.

On the insistence of Pakistan the UN Security Council met thrice to discuss Kashmir. The meeting adjourned without adopting any resolution.

Pakistan agreed in May to negotiate with China regarding part of the Kashmir border with Sinkiang.

During the year Pakistani armed forces or their agents were responsible for 473 incidents involving firing along or across the cease-fire line and the Jammu and Sialkot border.

1963

The Director of Land Records and Survey of the two countries failed to agree in regard to demarcation of the

Tripura-East Pakistan border and the "disputed area" on the Karimganj border of Assam.

A virulent "Hate India" campaign was mounted in both the wings of Pakistan. Pakistan-China alliance against India took shape.

In September, some officials of Pakistan High Commission at New Delhi were apprehended by the local police while they were found indulging in undesirable activities and their recall was demanded. Pakistan retaliated by asking for the recall of Indian officials of equivalent rank. Closure of Asst. High Commission at Rajshahi.

Pakistan claimed the catchment area and the water-shed of the three Western rivers, the Chenab, the Jehlum and the Indus in Jammu and Kashmir on the non-existent ground that these rivers had been allotted to Pakistan under the Indus Water Treaty.

The Government of India lodged protests with Government of Pakistan against the unlawful signing of the agreement on Kashmir's border with China.

Pakistan Government engineered incidents along the cease-fire line at Chaknot and in the Bettar Nallah in Poonch.

1964

Widespread communal disturbances broke out in the district of Khulna on January 5. These were soon followed by large-scale disturbances in Dacca nnd other districts of East Pakistan. Influx of the minority into India sparked off communal riots in Calcutta. The conference of the Home Ministers on April 7 was not able to arrive at an agreement on the problem of exodus of minorities from East Pakistan.

TO EVERY CITIZEN

1. Help the authorities.
   Maintain discipline and order.

2. Promote unity and solidarity.
   In unity lies strength.

3. Work hard.
   Produce more.
   That is the best form of national service.

4. Buy only what is necessary.
   Consume less.
   Prevent waste.

5. Hoarding is a crime for everybody:
   Producer, trader or consumer.

6. Guard the Home Front.
   Undertake at once some task for Civil Defence.

7. Spread no rumours.
   Believe no rumours.

8. Donate blood.
   Donate money.

9. Your money buys a gun.
   Your blood saves a jawan.

THE END